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TEXAS EXPEDITIONS OF 1842

I.

CORPUS CHRISTI

and

LIPANTITLAN

II. The Vasquez Dash to San Antonio

III. The Woll Raid

By Frederick C. Chabot

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CORPUS CHRISTI

by

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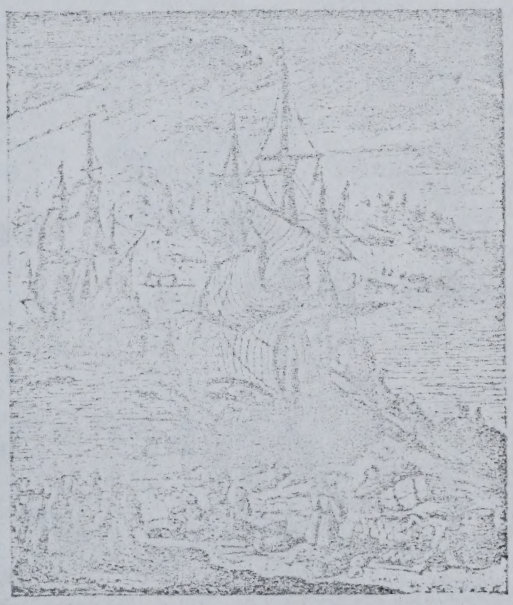

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SHELF GUIDE

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Dolores
San Patricio
Isla del Padre
Salt Lakes
Refugio
Scale of Miles
100
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Meridian West 100 from Greenwich
99
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Corpus Christi & Lipantitlan

A Story of the Army of Texas Volunteers, 1842

By

FREDERICK C. CHABOT

Artes Graficas
San Antonio, Texas

1942

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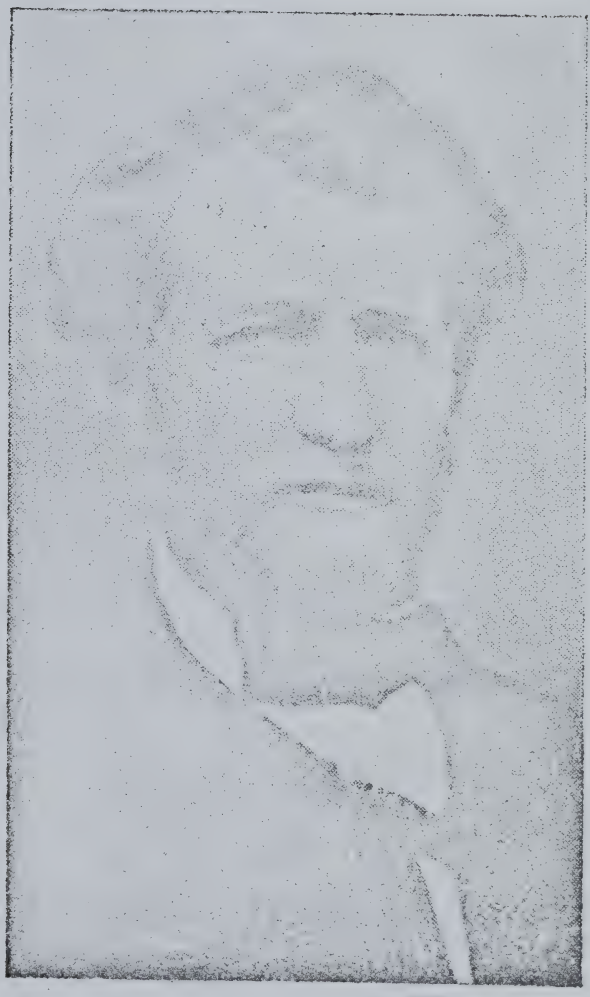
To a good friend
Richard M. Kleberg



COLONEL KINNEY

Courtesy of Corpus Christi Chamber of Commerce

FOREWORD

It is logical to believe that Corpus Christi Bay was named by Spanish explorers who arrived in its protected waters on Corpus Christi Day, that is, Thursday after Trinity Sunday. The first description of Corpus Christi Bay and the Nueces River accurately recorded was by Captain Joaquín Orobio y Basterra, of the Presidio of La Bahía del Espíritu Santo. In accordance with the instructions of Escandon, and order of Francisco García Larios, Governor of Texas, Capt. Joaquín Orobio y Basterra set out with an expedition of fifty men (25 from his garrison at La Bahía and 25 from Los Adaes) to explore the Gulf coast to the Rio Grande. The expedition left La Bahía on January 29, 1747. The approach to the Nueces began on February 16, from Santa Dorotea. After a 4-day journey covering 25 leagues, they reached a fresh water lake, which Orobio y Basterra called *Santa Barbara.* They cossed six ceeks on the way. Orobio y Basterra, according to Castañeda,[1] seems to have reached the Nueces somewhere between present San Patricio and Calallen, where the river forms a natural lake in times of flood. "The six creeks can be easily identified as the Sarco, the Mucorrera, the Blanco, the Medio, the Aransas, and the Papalote." The following is Orobio y Basterra's description of Corpus Christi Bay and Nueces River: "This river of *Las Nueces,* which until now was thought to join the Rio Grande del Norte, enters the sea at this place, where a great bay is found, to which I gave the name of *San Miguel Arcangel.* The bay is about two and one-half leagues wide and slightly more in length. It has the shape of a horseshoe. High hills surround it in part along its south and southwestern extremities. The tide runs up the river for a distance of about three leagues, and salt is formed in quantities. It was not possible to take soundings due to the lack of a boat. Only along the northern coast

[of the bay], where the beach may be approached on foot, were soundings taken. Up to this point it had not been possible to reconnoiter the seashore on account of the heavy woods along the coast."

"Orobio y Basterra pointed out that along both sides of the river above the Bay there were rich and extensive plains suitable for cultivation and which could be easily irrigated from the river. He declared that the country in the vicinity offered all the facilities for the establishment of a great city..."

"On February 27, he resumed his march in the same general direction, going perhaps a little more to the south until he came to a salty creek which he named *La Purísima Concepción*. This," says Castañeda, "could have been no other than present Oso Creek."

At the time that General Mier y Terán sent Spanish troops to Texas, to prevent Anglo-American immigration, Captain Enrique Villarreal was stationed with a small force, near the site of present Corpus Christi. This officer afterwards received as a grant, *Rincon del Oso* (titled November 16, 1831), extending from the Nueces River and Nueces Bay on the north, a distance of about 14 mi.; and from Corpus Christi Bay on the east, to *Barranca Blanca,* about 28 mi. on the west. This grant (*Rincon del Oso*) was bounded on the west by the Ramón de Hinojosa grant, *Rincon de Corpus Christi* (tilted November 16, 1831), and by Oso Creek, which, flowing east into Corpus Christi Bay, forms *Cayo del Oso*, the southern boundary of *Rincon del Oso*. Captain H. L. Kinney eventually became assignee of *Rincon del Oso*, and acquired as well, the southeastern half of *Barranca Blanca*, of which J. H. Durst acquired the northwestern half.

One of the earliest white men to visit this locality was the sole survivor of a vessel wrecked on Padre Island in 1824. He pulled across the bay in a yawl, and found a home with the Mexican settlers. He later moved to Refugio. The original Mexican village was marked by the Kenedy Pasture Company building.

CORPUS CHRISTI

Corpus Christi Bay, according to Kennedy,[2] was about 40 mi. from N. to S., and 20 from E. to W. It was accessible from the gulf by a narrow pass over the bar, on which there was from 5 to 6 ft. water... Mustang Island, which separated the bay from the Gulf of Mexico, was about 35 mi. in length, and from 2 to 4 in breadth. Nueces Bay, says Kennedy, was a branch of Corpus Christi Bay, with which it was connected over a pass of 4 ft. water. Its only tributary was Nueces River, rising in the Guadalupe Mountains, about 300 mi. away, whose principal tributary was Rio Frio, about 150 mi, long, also rising in the Guadalupe Mountains. North of Mustang Island, and south of St. Joseph's, was the Bay of Aransas. Its tributary was Aransas River, about 80 mi. long. Orobio y Basterra named what seems the San Jacinto, in the Orcoquisac country, *La Señora de Aranzazos*. Copano Bay was a branch of Aransas Bay. Refugio River entered Copano Bay through Refugio Bay, and was formed by the Sarco, Blanco, Medio (Middle) and Sauz streams, says Kennedy. Laguna Madre was formed by the mainland on the W., and Padre Island on the E. It was about 80 mi. long, and 4 to 6, wide. At the southern extremity was the inlet of Barra de Santiago offering safe anchorage; goods from Matamoros landed here, observes Kennedy, and were drawn by wagons to their destination. The San Gertrudis flowed into Laguna Madre.

Contraband on all Texas frontiers was a thing of the past, present, and future. Mexicans on the Rio Grande, like those on the Sabine, felt the lack of American trade. "The authorities at Matamoros and Camargo, and other towns, executed the order [prohibiting the exportation of American goods], nominally, but actually invited Texans to set up trading posts in the disputed territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. Among those who established one, with a secret guarantee that he should not be molested, was Colonel Henry L. Kinney who opened a ranch with one [William] Aubrey at what is known as Corpus Christi. Kinney had an uncle in Mata-

moros, who enjoyed the confidence of the Mexican rulers there, as did also Kinney. To Kinney's post Mexican contrabandists made frequent visits." Captain Karnes and his company of Texas Rangers protected the traders from the Comanches. They had their headquarters at Kinney's ranch, where monte tables attracted people from far and wide. It was said that Kinney was born [1813] at Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania. Refused in marriage by the daughter of Daniel Webster at a ball in the summer of 1837, at Peru, Illinois, he went to Havana, but after three years, sailed for Texas. At his headquarters on the west bank of the Nueces, an extreme frontier settlement, he hired forty men as soldiers for personal service.

General Zachary Taylor brought United States troops in small boats across the bay on August 1, 1845. "He found a village dominated by Kinney, who was all-powerful on that shore. It was a great day for Kinney's Post." Taylor established his headquarters in a concrete or adobe house at a site, now block four, on Water St. This landmark was torn down to make room for a warehouse built by John Jordt, pioneer furniture dealer. The first United States flag raised over Texas soil, south of the Nueces River, was at a point on North Beach, about two hundred yards from where the Breakers Hotel stands.

"Colonel E. A. Hitchcock, Taylor's chief of staff, said in his memoirs that 'the officers and command of General Taylor's army fraternized with the citizens, social affairs were many, and the town grew rapidly as the flood of army gold brought about the establishment of new enterprise.' Another member of the expedition [Lt. Richard H. Wilson] described Kinney's Trading Post as 'the most murderous, thieving God-forsaken hole in the Lone Star... or out of it.'" To the American officer's remarks that the "small village of smugglers had lawless men with but few women and no ladies," Kinney retorted: "Ladies are all right, I reckon, but I've never seen one yet that was worth a damn as a cook!" Colonel Hitchcock wrote his brother (Aug. 10, 1845) that two companies of his regiment landed at Corpus Christi, July 31, 1845.

"The troops increased to approximately 5,000 and in March, 1846, Taylor began his historic march to Mexico, leaving Kinney's Trading Post depopulated and forlorn."

Nueces County was created from original San Patricio County in 1846. At this time Corpus Christi was organized, says Wortham.[3]

"The resourceful Kinney began a real estate promotion in 1848, advertising his little sun-baked town of shacks as *the Italy of America.* Colonizers were importing settlers for the unpeopled lands south and west, and boat loads of immigrants arrived; many of the newcomers remained in the small port town and started building a better community. A little later a *good will trip* was staged by Kinney and his associates, who sent a large wagon train to open trade with El Paso and Chihuahua. This started a spectacular period of wagon commerce between Corpus Christi and Mexico and with inland points. The armed wagon trains transported everything from onions to gold and silver. Shortly before this time the name, *Kinney's Post,* had been changed to *Corpus Christi;* 'something more definite for a postmark on letters' was needed. The gold seekers of 1849 used Corpus Christi as an assembling point on the Southern Immigrant Route."

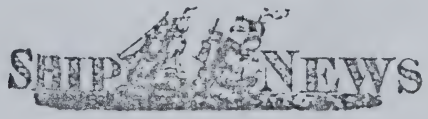
In 1852 Corpus Christi was incorporated, and on the first Tuesday in April of that year, our good people says Mrs. Sutherland, met at the polls and elected B. F. Neal mayor. He was a Virginian by birth, and educated to the law. Corpus Christi was first recognized as an American seaport when mentioned in the rivers and harbors act, in 1852.

Bartlett,[4] gives us a description of the geopraphy of the country. On the afternoon of December 31, 1852, he says they crossed a deep ravine, the dry bed of the *Escondida,* which bore traces of recent water. Just beyond this, the prairie was on fire. Dashing through the flames they came to another chain of lagunas, or small ponds, a short distance beyond, known as *Santa Gertrude.* After five miles of travel on an excellent road, they came to

San Francisco River. This day they had traveled 30 mi., from *Laguna los Olmos.* On January 1, 1853, they proceeded 10 mi. to *Agua Dulce,* where they saw some fifty pools of water and several ranchos. Twelve miles further on they came to the *Oso,* a small pond, or rather mudhole, observed Bartlett, the water in which was so bad that even the animals would not drink it. At three o'clock that afternoon they reached *Corpus Christi,* driving to the excellent hotel of Mr. Noesler. Here they met Captains Gibbs and Rhett, Dr. Jarvis, and other officers of the United States Army, from whom they were gratified with late news from home.

Col. H. L. Kinney, according to Capt. Henry,[5] was killed in 1863, while serving as an officer under General Carvajal who was besieging Matamoros by order of Governor Serna of Tamaulipas. The shot which ended his life was a stray ball. A skirmish was in progress between two factions of Mexicans. A friend of Colonel Kinney's, in a nearby house, called to him to come to his place as being safer than the place Kinney then occupied. He started to cross the yard and reached the door of his friend when he received the ball in the heart, dying instantly. Mrs. Sutherland says Colonel Kinney was killed in Matamoros in 1865.

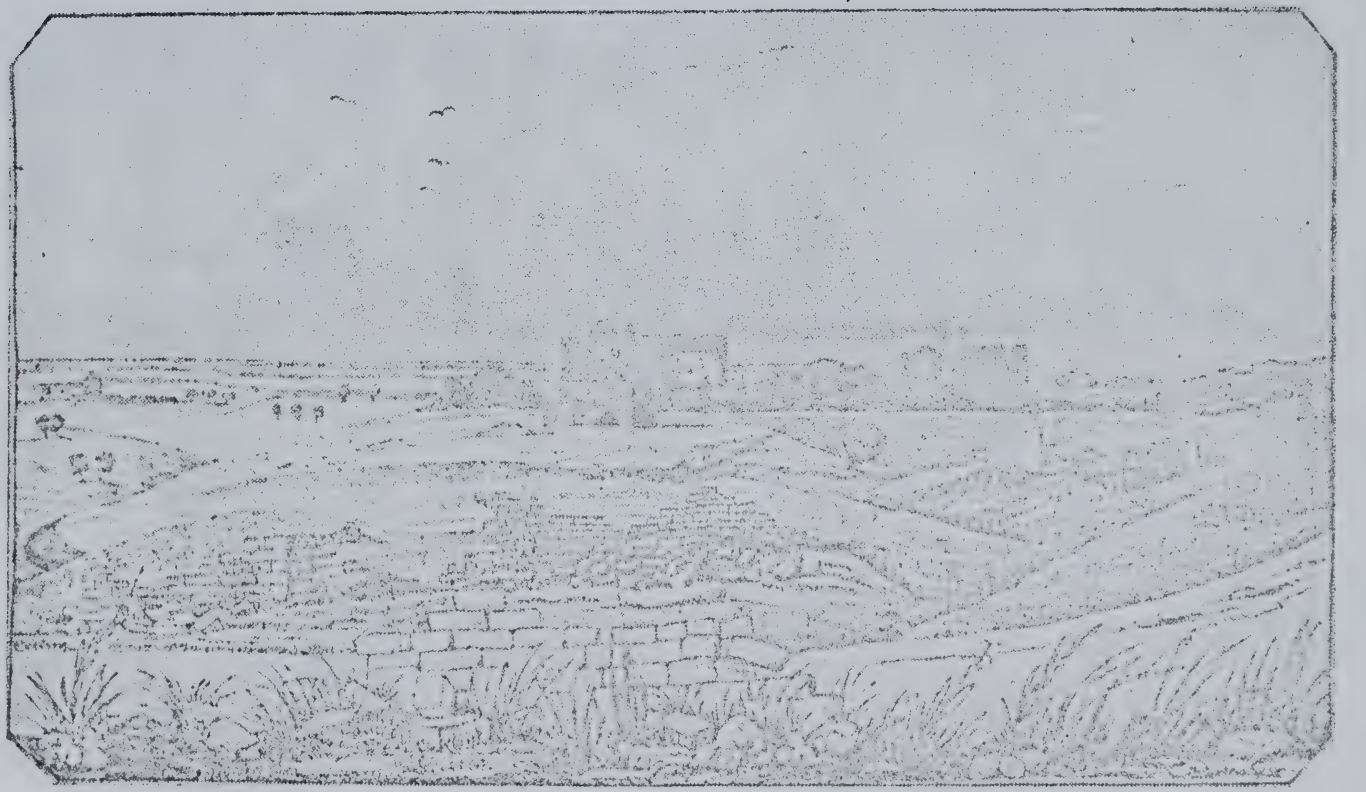
George W. Hockley, native of Philadelphia, met Sam Houston in Washington, and went to Tennessee in about 1828. He came to Texas in 1835. He was secretary of War during Houston's second administration. He died at the home of his kinsman, H. L. Kinney, in Corpus Christi, June 6, 1851; and was buried in the cemetery established during General Taylor's occupancy in 1845-46, according to Fulmore.[6]



ACKNOWLEDGMENT

A search for material to complete an account of the Spanish and Mexican Governors of Texas, and to complete a documented history of the expeditions of 1842, resulted in several interesting discoveries. One, was the collection of documents relating to Corpus Christi and Lipantitlan, in the Archive of Nationl Defense, Mexico. The writer is obliged to the *oficial mayor* and other officers of the *Defensa Nacional* for their courteous attention.

—FREDERICK C. CHABOT



View of the Ruins of the old Church and Fortification at Goliad

Courtesy of Carlos E. Castañeda

MEXICAN EYES ON TEXAS

EVER since February, 1836, Mexicans had a disliking for San Patricio and Lipantitlan. Nicolas Rodríguez and twenty-three men of his, the 2nd Company of Cavalry, were surprised by a party of colonists from San Patricio, at Lipantitlan, and most of them taken prisoners, owing to the treason of two soldiers. Rodríguez himself escaped, arrived at Matamoros on February 13, 1836, and reported the affair. The Texans, he said, numbered about one hundred and eight men. They were expecting others to land with arms and supplies.[7]

In preparation for the Vasquez dash to San Antonio, first instructions provided that José Manuel Gonzales with two hundred men, should surprise Corpus Christi, Refugio, and Goliad.[8] This officer recruited the 200 men from the squadron of the 3rd Regiment of Cavalry, Company of Presidials and Auxiliaries of La Bahia, and was ready to march on the 9th of January.[9] On this day General Arista issued a Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Texas, telling them that they would receive more benefits from the Mexican Government than from an independent republic, and inviting them to abandon the revolutionary government and participate in Mexican regeneration.[10]

This party which was to reconnoitre from Corpus Christi to La Bahia, would be at the orders of General Vasquez, should he call upon them.[11] So that Vasquez

should not be isolated, they were to leave Camargo for their rush on Corpus Christi and nearby points, the same day as Vasquez was to leave Lampasos; that was February 1.[12]

It was originally planned that these men were to be under the command of Lt. Col. Manuel Sabariego, who was familiar with Texas coast country having served there under General Cos in 1835. Sabariego could not accept the command, however, as he had family affairs to detain him, and could not leave home on so short notice. Capt. Ramón Valera, of the 3rd Regiment of Cavalry, was therefore appointed lieutenant colonel in command of the reconnoitring party. His valor, and knowledge of Texas were commended by Arista.[13]

Valera reported from Mier, on Febuary 18, that in accordance with instructions he was leaving the following day with a force of two captains, two lieutenants and alférez, sixteen sergeants, a bugler, sixteen cabos, and one hundred and twenty soldiers. There were besides, three individuals, who because of their knowledge of the territory, were accompanying the party as leaders of explorers and spies. Valera acknowledged receipt of 150 copies of Arista's Proclamation, giving assurances they would be used to advantage. He was joined by Quiñones with fifty men of the 1st Company of Explorers.[14] The rainy season and swollen streams delayed the final dash until February 23, 1842.[15]

To avoid any surprise, spies were sent out in all directions. Their activities extended to the interior of Texas. They were on the Nueces. They operated from Rio Grande to Corpus Christi, in a regular line of observation.[16]

C O R P U S C H R I S T I

The following is Valera's report to Arista, from his camp on the lakes of Santa Rosa, March 12, 1842:

"As I advised Y. E. in my communication of February 18, the following day I began my march with the section of my command. On the morning of the 28th, I found myself on the other side of the Nueces, at the height of Casa Blanca, with a force of 120 men and 12 officers. It is not possible to express to Y. E. the unfortunate and useless condition of the horses at that time; indeed, at the departure they were practically useless; now, after crossing a long desert filled with loose sand, and without water, their condition was deplorable. After 18 leagues of travel, three fourths of them were absolutely unfit for use; the men were obliged to walk and carry the saddles and harness (cabalgaduras de cabestro). But with the desire to obey Y. E.'s orders to the letter, I had them speedily advance on crossing the Nueces, with forced marches, so the enemy could not learn of the invasion. Two days were necessary to make the miserable distance of only 12 leagues. Convinced that if we continued at that rate the purpose of the enterprise could not be accomplished, I had Capt. Miguel Aznar rapidly march on the 2 Inst., with 40 men, the best mounted that it was possible to recruit, to surprise the Villa de Goliad. This officer complied with orders, as well be seen from enclosure No. 1.

"At midnight on the 3rd, that officer returned with his force. The following day he was sent with 55 men to surprise the Villa de la Mision del Refugio, where according to report, the population was greater than at Goliad, and where there was a detachment of ten Texans. By chance, they were no longer there. According to

Aznar's report, enclosure No. 2, he carried out his orders with perfection, also fighting a party of Lipans, killing several of them, among whom, two very close relatives of the principal chief of that tribe. He recoverd from them 42 beasts, stolen on the Rio Bravo. When Aznar joined me, no news had been received from General Vasquez, as expected, for I had communicated with him. With no reply, and the horses being in such a deplorable condition, I began my retreat toward the Nueces, with short marches, leaving Aznar to cover the retreat, because his force was better fit for the service, and because he requested to be permitted to do so.

"When I arrived at the Nueces with the vanguard, the explorers who had been sent out to discover the rest of the Texian detachments, or report on their halting-place, San Patricio, joined me, informing me that about a league down the river from that place, was found a sole detachment of only 8 or 10 of all the former Texas forces. At once Capt. José María Gonzales of the Defenders was sent with 20 men to surprise them. He returned a few hours later giving me the information found in enclosure No. 3.

"In the evening of that day I was joined by Captain Aznar, without news. We remained in camp on the Nueces until the following day. At dawn, he was sent with 30 men to reconnoitre the right bank of the river, to its mouth in the lake, and to visit the rancho de Corpus Christi to see if any of the San Patricio detachment were there. In concluding this operation, they were ordered to proceed to Santa Gertrudis, where they were to wait during the entire day of their arrival, estimated for the 10th. Most of the time had elapsed before this was

accomplished: when at about 2: or 3: P. M. a heavy dust was seen on all the road, which owing to its thickness and remarkable prolongation, made it impossible to waste any time in awaiting the expected force of Captain Aznar, which, as I said, consisted of thirty men. As it increased every moment, I had the horses saddles without loss of time. to herd the jaded horses which were loose, having four well mounted men proceed to reconnoitre and report what was causing all this. They had not gone far when they were atacked and surrounded by a multitude of barbarians. Thus was the news of the approach of the enemy received, when they were already upon us.

"The barbarians held off momentarily to observe my camp and position, but this was only to await their rearguard forces, which had not yet joined them. When they arrived, they impetuously charged upon us, numbering not less than 300 men, and at the same time fired, being favored by a high south wind. In spite of the voracious fire which overwhelmed us, and of the repeated charges of the enemy, hidden by the thick smoke, we procured the not small advantage, of an orderly counterattack, bravely driving the enemy back and causing them heavy losses. Though one officer and 20 men were charged with the sole responsibility of defending the rear of the caballada, it was impossbile to divide the horses, and they stampeded. This was caused not so much by the Indians' incursions, but rather by the fire which arrived very close to them. The Indians dispersed and met again so far off that the shooting of my troops could not reach them. During this operation, only a few Indians participated. The rest of them rushed blindly

upon us for the last time, trying to cut off my left flank; but they were also driven off by the bravery of the Spaniards. They did, however, wound the Lieutenant of Defenders, of Camargo, Rafael Saenz; and fiftten troops, eleven of whom belonged to the Defenders of the Villas, two to those of Matamoros, and two to the mixed company. The loss of the enemy in this encounter was greater than in others. This I conclude, because they were unable to carry away their dead, as they previously did, leaving them on the field. The defeated enemy fled precipitately, raising as they were accustomed to do, moans which filled their labyrinthian fort (armando como acostumbran un fuerte laberinto con su llanto). The bad condition of the horses, with sixteen of them seriously wounded, required an escort, if they were not to be abandoned altogether. This prevented my pursuing the enemy which I would have liked so much to do. I can assure Y. E., however, that this was a favorable skirmish, the enemy having lost three times as many as ourselves. This is confirmed by what Captain Aznar told me when he joined me this same day. The Indians continued their flight, leaving many wounded horses and a multitude of dead. After inspecting the dead, it was found that the Indians who attacked us were composed of Lipans, Tancahues, and Mescaleros, who are actually allied with the Texas Indians (Tejanos) and supplied by them, with fire arms and good ammunition.

"The valor, enthusiasm, and calm shown in critical moments by Captain of Defenders, José María Gonzales, Lieutenant of the same, Domingo Guerra, Lieutenant of the auxiliary company of La Bahia, Noverto Galán,

the intrepidity of Alférez of Cavalry of the 3rd Regiment, Ramón Orosco, obliges me to recommend them to Y. E., telling you at the same time, with gratification and satisfaction, that all of the force of my command complied with their duties with the enthusiasm which always distinguishes Spanish soldiers.

"In reporting the details of this glorious expedition to Y. E. for the information of the Superior Government, which I have the honor to offer in my report No. 205, of the 19, Inst., I again recommend all the brave men who participated . . .

Monterrey, March 27, 1842
Mariano Arista

Minister of War."

Encl. 1: Miguel Aznar to Lt. Col. Ramón Balera, Camp on Arroyo del Mugerero, March 4, 1842, No. 1:

"Complying with orders to proceed from Arroyo Blanco at the head of 40 men and 2 officers, to surprise Goliad, at dawn I took up a position in an oak grove (mota de encinos) half a mile from the Villa. So none could escape, I sent Lieutenant of the Auxiliaries of La Bahía, Noverto Galán and 15 men to take up a position between the settlement and the San Antonio River. At dawn we divided into four small parties; the first, of 10, was under my immediate command; the other three were under sergeants, with instructions to make it their principal duty to prevent the inhabitants from going from one house to another, and to take fugitives, because any might give news of the invasion to Guadalupe Victoria, only 10 leagues off, a place where the enemy could quickly raise a force ten times my own.

"With the given signal, I went to the Church, which was strong and well built, and defended to advantage. Those in the Church and in nearby houses refused to open the doors; but being convinced that they were individually locked in and could not offer resistance, they surrendered in the name of the Benemerito General President. Only a few defended themselves in a strong house of rubble-work (mamposteria). Finally we held a parley and I had them read the Proclamation. On my personal guarantee for the safety of friends, they surrendered. Doors were opened. Absolute order ensued. I received all the inhabitants. I asked for food and meat for the men, promising to pay for them in course of time. I sent an advanced party on the road to Guadalupe Victoria. I remained in Goliad all day. The inhabitants and troops got along together. All was quiet. I sent copies of the Proclamation by mail to the other side of the San Antonio River.

"At nightfall I had the advanced detachments unite, and made the inhabitants believe that I would proceed to Guadalupe Victoria, deceiving them with a move before the Espíritu Santo Mission. I then countermarched to the Arroyo del Mugerero, where I joined you at midnight . . ."

Encl. 2: Miguel Aznar to Lt. Col. Ramón Balera, Camp on Arroyo de Aranzazu, March 6, 1842:

"Complying with orders, I have just surprised Mission del Refugio. I marched all night at the head of 55 men, arriving in sight of the Villa at dawn. Though with four or five times more inhabitants than Goliad, and better armed, they surrendered. I read the Proclamation to them. I was informed that an abandoned

house was occupied by a party of Lipans who had arrived from Rio Bravo the night before, with horses and mules they had stolen there. I attacked them at once, and sent out six men to cut off their flight. Those who resisted were killed. Two who attempted to escape, were taken prisoners. I had them shot at once for daring to fight our troops. Among the dead were the son-in-law and nephew of the chief of the Lipan tribe, called Castro. On the first was found a passport or safe conduct granted by Texas authorities. The forty beasts taken from them were distributed among the troops who were on foot. Each was armed with a gun, pike (chuzo), bow and arrows." Aznar recommended Lieutenant of Auxiliaries of La Bahía, Romano Falcón, First Sergeant of 3rd Cav., Bernardino Medina, and citizens Pedro Flores and José Sandoval. The last killed the captain of the Lipan party.

The Spanish force remained in the Villa during the day, asked the inhabitants for food, and were quickly supplied. They continued the march in the direction of Aransasu Creek, took the road to the Nueces, and joined Balera before arriving at this point. The wrong direction taken on leaving the mission deceived the inhabitants, and Aznar was sure the inhabitants would not be able to follow his retreat. The combined Spanish forces numbered barely 120 men.

Encl. 3: José María Gonzales to Ramón Valera, Camp, El paso de Piedra, March 7, 1842:

"I have just complied with orders in surprising the Texan detachment, in the direction of San Patricio. Shortly after I left the rest of the forces, spies told me they were on the Nueces. I immediately sent ten men

under Sergeant of Defenders, Eulalio Palacios, to the river, to cut off their retreat. Pedro Flores was wounded. The result of the skirmish was to kill four of them and take one prisoner, two having been able to escape. Among the four was Colonel Cans (Karnes), the leader of the party. We took 8 horses, 6 mounts, 3 rifles, a gun, 3 pistols, a rifle of 16 shots, and a sword; these were given to the troops; the horses, however, were kept for the return voyage."

Endorsement states that the President was gratified, and that all officers and sergeants were given at once, the rank in which they had served.[17]

Francisco Charles, a servant, left Rancho del Coleto, on March 18, 1842, to inform General Ampudia of the forces at Rincon del Oso (Bear Nook). His declaration, dated Matamoros, March 22, gives interesting deails. In Guadalupe Victoria, it was known, he said, that the Mexican army was on the march for a Texas campaign. This was confirmed by mail from Goliad, which had already been surprised, with copies of Arista's Proclamation. It was said that part of the vanguard of the Mexican army had already taken the Villa de Goliad, and that undoubtedly the other Mexican troops were advancing. In Victoria, on the ranches, and in the immediate settlements, all able bodied Texans were called to arms for defense. In spite of this, however, some families began to flee for the interior, taking with them what they could carry. The Texans then intercepted the mail sent by the Mexican officer who had surprised La Bahía. They threatened to shoot the carrier if he did not tell them all he knew about the Mexican invasion. He said he did not know the exact number of troops, and

gave a grossly exaggerated estimate. This so alarmed the Texans that they did not consider themselves safe, even on the Guadalupe, said Charles. That night a Texan from Goliad reported the Mexicans there had begun to march on Guadalupe Victoria. He gave assurances that other Mexican troops would advance. The inhabitants held a meeting. The evacuation of Guadalupe soon began, the refugees taking with them their cattle and supplies. The armed force of Texans also began to march to the Colorado, added Charles, for they felt they could not resist the superior Mexican forces.

After some days, more definite news came from the Nueces. Very limited forces had invaded Texas and surprised the settlements. The San Patricio detachment of Texans also received news that the Mexicans had already begun their retreat to the Rio Bravo. Then, everything was different, observed Charles. All men with arms began to meet. Volunteer soldiers came from all directions to fill the defense lines. From March 12 to 15, in Rincon del Oso, five leagues below Goliad, over four hundred men were gathered, not to defend themselves, said Charles, but to begin an offensive warfare, to attack the settlements on the Rio Bravo. From that time on, as far as Charles could say, not a steamboat ceased to make continuous voyages from Puerto del Tapon, carrying mulitudes of armed men, to join the Oso forces. The advance on the Mexican frontier was such a certainty that even the dates were set.

By March 19, the Texans were exploring this side of the Nueces, said Charles, toward Aguadulce. The Oso force had arms; they were ready for any work; they also had big fat horses, in good condition.[18]

Already came reports of contraband. Valentin Villarreal called on the Mexican Consul in New Orleans to request a passport for Matamoros, where he wished to see his wife and children. Villarreal seemed to be a Mexican, reported the consul. He left Matamoros three months previous with Agapito Martínez, called "the Comanche;" and another friend, Fermín Salas, otherwise, "Chepito Sandoval," courier of the Army of he North, who being sick, could not go. The others took livestock from Matamoros to Colonel King, who lived near Corpus Christi.[19] Here Villarreal worked for a few days. He then took horses to the Colorado, whence he sailed for New Orleans. This was an instance, reported the consul, of nothing less than contraband.[20]

In a subsequent report, to General Reyes, the New Orleans Consul forwarded an article from the Houston Telegraph, dated May 4, 1842, "News from the West", saying that several Mexican traders had recently visited the rancho of Aubrey and Kinney; that "for nearly two months past there had not been a single company of Mexican soldiers east of the Rio Grande. The whole country had been left entirely unprotected . . " Mexicans were dissatisfied. Most of them "would cheerfully yield obedience to our government," said the Houston newspaper, "if a sufficient force could be sent west of the Rio Grande to give them confidence." As an example, "Colonel Villarreal, who during the past year commanded a ranging company, stationed near the Sal Colorado, has retreated to cross the Rio Grande, and left his own rancho exposed to the depredations of our cow boys. It is reported that his stock has been reduced within the last year from several thousand to a few hundred." This

was too much for the Señor Consul, nor should we blame him![21]

Contraband was robbing the Mexican Government. Now came news that the Texas army was robbing Mexican citizens. The Galveston Gazette of May 28, reported that some Mexican merchants arriving at Corpus Christi, had been arrested and robbed. This was reported to the Minister of War. Sam Houston, however, had the men released and their goods restored to them.[22]

Even more harrassing to the Mexican mind was the continual arrival in Texas of armed recruits from the United States. Houston's letter to Col. Barry Gillespie was published in the Commercial Bulletin, New Orleans, May 24, 1842. Forty-nine emigrants from Tennessee were reported for Texas. This information of course, was promptly submitted to the Superior Government by the Mexican Consul. Shortly thereafter Bocanegra sent various New Orleans clippings to the Minister of War. Among them was one stating that at "Aubres" ranch there were three hundred men; and that the colonel of this name had freely given his cattle as food was very scarce and families were abandoning that part of the country. Other papers reported Colonel Owen in Texas with two hundred and fifty men. There was a concentration of three hundred in Victoria. All of them were going to Corpus Christi. Indeed, all the West was meeting in Corpus Christi; where there were already six hundred men. The Morning Advertiser published that Houston and Burleson said Texas would declare war on Mexico and begin an invasion of that country as soon as the army was ready for such action. The Picayune mentioned that there were five hundred men at Corpus

Christi; "of the canalla who came from the United States," said the New Orleans Consul, who added that the San Bernardo was taking more men to Texas, but that all of them were poverty stricken wretches.[23]

Explorers from Camargo informed Canales on June 19, that five hundred Texas adventurers were at La Escondida, forty leagues from the Rio Bravo, on the road to the Nueces, and that the volunteers from Mobile were recruiting under Davis, at Corpus Christi. Colonel Montero, it was observed, with about one thousand men, at Camargo, could easily put an end to them.[24]

Spies reported to General Reyes on the morning of July 4, that the Texas enemy was at Lipantitlan, on the right bank of the Nueces, numbering four hundred infantry and fifty cavalry.[25]

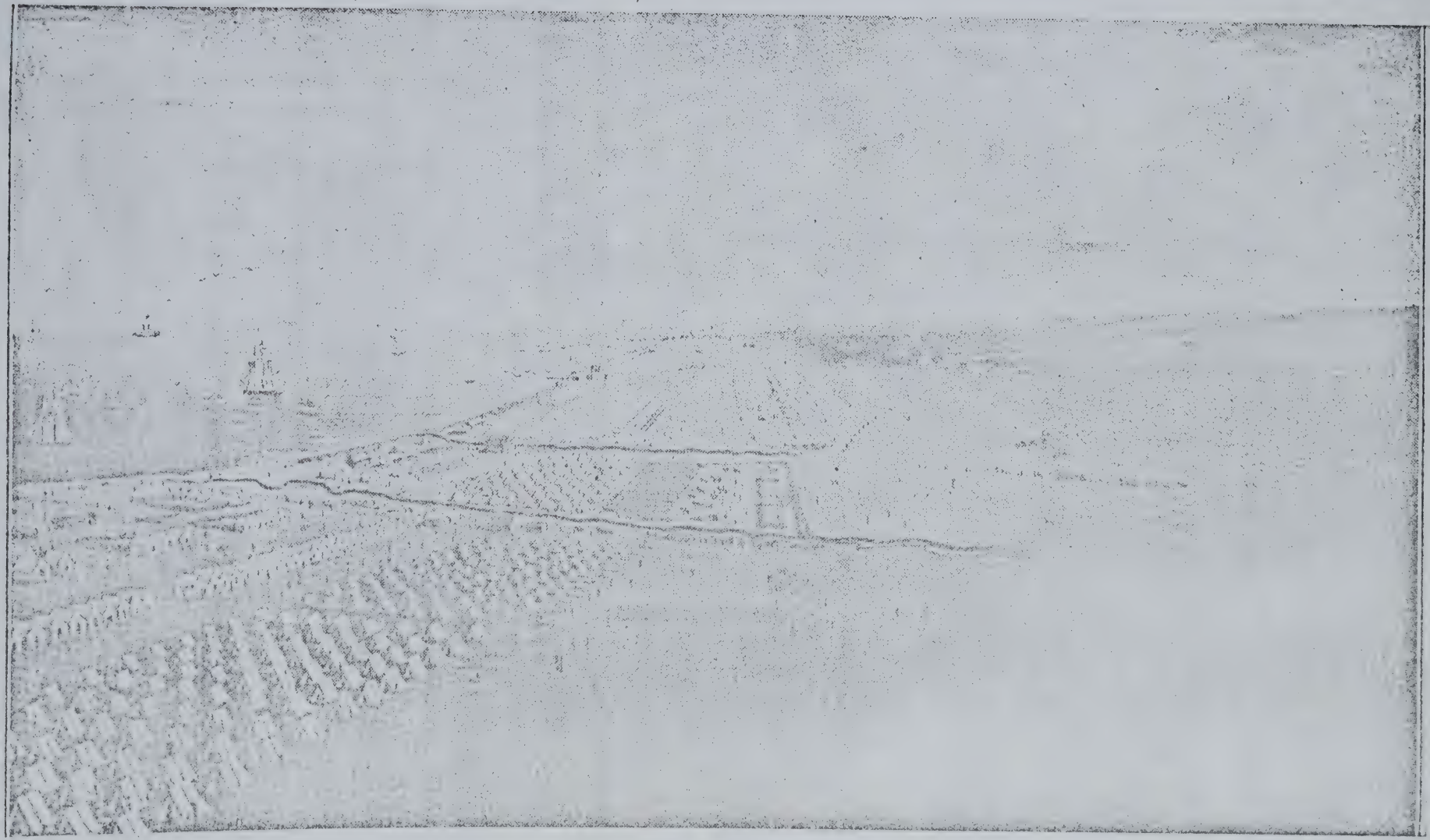
More clippings from New Orleans brought encouraging news for Mexican officials. Texas was in no financial condition to carry on a war. The income of the new Republic for six years had proven barely sufficient to cover the expenses of Congress. San Antonio was pleading protection from Mexican and Indian thieves, who were stealing the cattle and slaves. The Texas Volunteers were committing great excesses. Desertions from the Texas army were becoming frequent. Indeed, the Galveston Gazette of June 28, 1842, promised to publish the names of all deserters.[26]

Col. Cayetano Montero was sent by Canales with part of his regular forces, to attack the colonists south of the Nueces. A scarcity of horses was a hindrance to Mexican activities; those from Reynosa being useless. They proceeded by way of Palo Blanco, Trinidad, Las

Pintas, Agua Dulce, and Santa Gertrudis. They were disappointed. The Texans had departed previous to their arrival at Santa Margarita, where they found only one hundred peaceful men, without fortifications of any kind, fifteen of whom went daily to Santa Gertrudis to attend to business. Canales was disappointed; so were the men; they all longed for an encounter with the enemy, reported Canales.[27]

The New Orleans Consul was alert. He reported The Mary Elizabeth had never returned to her owners, in spite of the ruling of the Admiralty Court. She was taken by Colonel Jackson with two hundred and ninety-three Volunteers, and in company with another boat, left New Orleans on July 2, for Corpus Christi.[28]

"WILD BEEF"
From Le Page du Pratz, Histoire



THE ARMY OF TEXAS VOLUNTEERS

THE San Patricio Rangers were a company organized "for the mutual protection of our persons, property, and civil and religious liberties." They were to continue in existence for such time as they were to remain West of the Rios Nueces for this laudable purpose. In the original resolutions passed at Camp Independence, West of the Nueces, on May 18, 1841, it was agreed that they were to elecet a Captain, and an Orderly Sergeant, whose duty it would be to keep the company rolls. Any spoils, or property taken, were to remain as common stock until an equal division should be made. For neglect of duty, there was a penalty of the loss of not less than one eighth, or more than one fourth of the share of spoils and property taken. Appeals were ruled by a two-thirds majority of the company. The charter members, or signers of these original resolutions of May 18, 1841, were:

James P. Ownby, H. M. Pratt, Marvin Hastings, Joseph S. Marsh, E. M. McDonnell, Daniel Davis, Charles Tod, John H. Yerby, Ewen Burgess [?], F. H. Makinster, William Badgett, John [?] Cameron, G. L. Fruster, Francis McCafferty, John Jemison, William H. Rozier, James Gaze, John Legman, David B. Fowler, Dincans [?], E. Ballard, James G. Fowler, Dennis Kannady, Wm. H. Pate.

The roll of the San Patricio Rangers was as follows:

1. Capt. Ow[nby]
2. O. Sergt. Prat
3. Ba[dgett]
4. [Burgess?]
5. D[avis]
6. D[incans?]
7. Fr[uster]
8. Ga[ze]
9. Cameron
10. Hastings
11. 1 Fowler
12. 2 Fowler
13. Jamison
14. Kennedy
15. [torn] McDonell
16. Makinstri
17. McCafferty
18. Marsh
19. Pate
20. Rozier
21. L[egman]
22. Tod
23. Yerby
24. Ballard

The Galveston Invincibles were another company of volunteers who retained their original name. A report without date, showing a "Return of the strength," gives Capt. J. M. Allen as their commander. The total of 42, comprised 32 privates. This company had 39 muskets, 37 cartridge boxes, 5 flints, 2 kegs of powder, 3 rifles, and 45 Haversaiks. This return was signed by E. T. Fox, Lt. Com.

Another company who must have been proud of their state were the Alabama Parole. In a report of a Guard mounted in Corpus Christi, May 26, and relieved the following day, a total of 24 is shown, comprising 21 privates.

From a Roster of Officers it is seen that there were six companies:

A. Captain [H. H.] Brower, Lts. Moore and Work.
B. Captain [Jack R.] Everett, Lts. Radcliff and Birmingham.
C. Captain [Aug.] Williams, Lts. McBeth and O'Conner.
D. Captain [J. M.] Allen, Lt. Fox.
E. Captain [H. W.] Allen, Lts. Seaman and Fields.
F. Captain [Wm. P.] Shivers, Lts. Reed and Burns.

The sergeants and corporals follow. These were known as the First Battalion of Texas Volunteers. They were under the command of Major J[ohn] J. B. Hoxey.

The strength of the First Battalion as shown for the period June 3-12, 1842, was as follows:

	Privates present for duty	Totals
A.	29	52
B. [Mobile Greys]	41	64
C. [Tennessee Volunteers]	32	43
D. [Galveston Incincibles]	14	41
E. [Orleans Co.]	16	30
F.	17	36
Total:	149	266

In an early order from the Secretary of War and Marine, Geo. W. Hockley (dated May 11, 1842), it is evident that there was discord, for it was stated, the two companies commanded by Captain Thomas N. Woods and J. J. B. Hoxey, respectively, were both mustered into service on the same day, April 23; the seniority, it was ordered, would be decided by lot, the senior to retain the prior letter, "F".

Brower's Company, A, Muster Roll for May 15, 1842, shows a total of 52, with rank, rifles, muskets, pistols, Bowie Knives, bayonets, cartridge boxes, clothing, powder, and balls: Capt. H. H. Brower, 1st. Lt. W. P. Moore, 2nd Lt. G. C. Work; 1st Sgt., I. Sullivan; 2nd Sgt., William Baugher; 3rd Sgt., G. Byington; 4th Sgt., I. H. Boyle; 5th Sgt., J T. Mongar; I. Flaherty, 1st Corp.: J. Osbourne, 2nd; H. Shattuck, 3rd; J. Scott, 4th; and privates: Allen, Beach, Brown, Babcock, Carr, Cook, Clark, Davis, Frieher, Hulse, Wirk,

Kerman, Kelley, Kieff, Mongeon, Martin 1st, Martin 2nd, Marshall, Morall, Marks, McNair, McElwy, McInis, McGuigan, Newitt, O'Meara, O'Daniel, Peters, A. Philips, G. Philips, Pettis, Plitt, Riley, Roarke, Sherrod, Thornton, T. Williams, W. Williams, Wright.

Remarks: "Shirts, pants and shoes wanted. On hand, 8 kegs bbg. powder. No coffee or sugar on hand. Four of those muskets will not bear inspection, nor have I the means of repairing them.

H. H. Brower."

Williams' Company C, the Tennessee Volunteers, listed present for duty, in report, dated La Panticlen [Lipantitlan], July 3, 1842: John Macbeth, 1st Lt.; Phillips B. George, 2d Sgt.; C. G. Caythart, 1st Corp.; Thomas Hanks, 3rd Corp.; and privates: Bell, Baggett, Frazier, Ford, Gorden, Gray, Johnson, Mitchell, Miller, Miller2d. McGuire, Meader, Peel, Steel, Tolefero, Taylor, Turnage, Venemen, Tracey (sick); and detached from service, absent: furloughed: A. Williams, Capt.; A. Wallace, O. Sgt.; E. B. Ragsdale, 3d Corp.; and privates: Echols, Gray, Sorrels. Absent without leave or deserted: Hugh O'Conner; 2d Lt.; John Shelton, 2d Sgt.; Sam'l B. King, 3d Sgt.; Fred B. Goll, 4th Sgt.; R. Cochran, 1st Corp.; William Peeples, 3d Corp.; John Riley, 4th Corp.; privates: Crawford, William H., Dyson, G. E., Davis, I. C., Kirksey, John, Moseley, I., McMahan, Jas., MacCaslin, A.M., Pain, Govan, Peck, Ruluff, Richardson, John, Runnells, James A., Ross, David K., Sneed, Richard, Sick, Thomas, Wray, John, Turnage, Walker, White, Z., Windborn, David, Zeeland, A. This report was signed by George and Macbeth.

Allen's Company, E, "A list of the men," dated July 3, 1842: Capt. H. W. Allen, and John Barnes, D. F. Bamey; Lt. I. Leaman, Lt. D. W. Field, Sgt. W. C. Parke, privates: I. I. Clarke, I. Erwin, Howard, Butler, Fontleroy, E. Michon, Olander James, L. Leo, W. D. Gilmore, G. Lewis, L. Jacobs, and I. Portel. A list on furlough from said company: Corp. M. Stansbury and A. McD. Lermanden; privates: L. A. Williams, I. A. Moore, I. Moss, T. Evans. A list of those that deserted said company on the 2d of July, 1842: Sergt. R. Hacket, Corpl. R. Lamberson; privates: Hubbard, I. Allen, Bradly, W. Hays, Sgt. B. W. Rumney. This list was dated "Lapantaclan, July 2d, 1842," and was signed by W. C. Parke, Sgt. On the back, deserters from the Orleans Company are listed.

From fragmentary sources, mostly receipts, we see that there was a "Captain" Wm. T. Scott. Ephraim McLean was also called captain. A letter from his brother, John McLean, in Ran Co., Mo., was addressed to him at Galveston Isle, Texas.

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Dr. N. J. Moore was appointed Sergeant's Mate to the Texian Army.

David Murphree, Esq., was appointed Acting Quartermaster for the Texian Army. William C. McKinstry was Acting Ass't Quartermaster. William B. Goodman was in charge of the commissary.

In a letter to Col. C. L. Owen, dated Corpus Christi, May 26, 1842, regarding commissary supplies, it was stated that the total forces were now nearly three hundred volunteers, and eighty men in the Spy Companies. It was learned that day, that about six hundred volunteers were at Galveston and would be in Corpus Christi within a

few days. Some hundred horsemen were also going to be moved to Corpus Christi. On their arrival, camp was to be removed 8 miles below, to what was called Ochula Lake.

In command of all forces was Col. James Davis, General "Commanding troops in service of Texas," or Acting Adjt. General.

The following letter of May 2, 1842, from B. Gillespie introduced Gen. James Davis to Capt. James M. Ogden, of Galveston:

[To] Capt. James M. Ogden, Galveston, May 2, 1842.
Capt. J. M. Ogden;

Dear Sir: With pleasure I herewith introduce to you General James Davis, the Adjutant General of our army; he is an old acquaintance of mine from Mississippi. I know you will be pleased with him, as he has the qualities which will make him agreeable in camp. I go as Texas agent to New Orleans, where I should be pleased to hear from you.

Your friend,

B. Gillespie

Special Order No. 13, from the Department of War, dated June 7, 1842, reads: "On the arrival at Corpus Christi of the troops now at and in the vicinity of Galveston, Col. James Davis will report the strength of the Volunteers (with the exceptions of the two Companies attached to Colonel Washington's command) and should a sufficient number be reported, an order will be issued from the Department for the election of Field Officers."

Battalion Order No. 1, is dated Corpus Christi, May 14, 1842. It is quoted to give an idea of camp routine: "In future the different Camp Calls and signals will be sounded as follows: Reveille at day break when each Company will be formed on its parade ground and the roll called under the superintendance of the Company Officer.

"The Surgeon Call will be sounded at sunrise when the sick of each Company will be conducted to the Surgeon by the Orderly Sergeant.

"Officers Drill at 8 o'clock A. M.

"Guard Mounting, 10.

"Company Drill, 10½.

"Officers Drill, 3 P. M.

"Company Drill, 5 P. M.

"Orderly sergeant call immediately after Drill when the orderly sergeant will report to the Adj.

"Retreat at sun set when there will be a roll called as at Reveille. Tattoo at 8 o'clock when there will be a roll call as a retreat.

"After each roll call the Company Officer will report the absentees to the Adjt.

By order of Maj.
Hoxey —
J. B. Reaves,
Acting Adjutant."

J. M. Welles was appointed Drill Master, at Corpus Christi Headquarters, June 6, 1842.

A document dated May 15, was from Headquarters of the Texian Army, "Camp Williams." An order from Captain Everett to J. Walton Thompson, Orderly Sergeant, is addressed to him at "Camp Williams," telling him to remain at camp and see to it that no men should leave except Radcliff and his detachment of thirty men.

"Private P. S. We will have our share of the spoils or die in the attempt should they be taken from the Mexicans."

The following curious letter to Sergeant Thompson, mentions "Camp Nueces":

[To] Sergt. J. W. Thompson, Camp Nueces, Mexico from William C. McKinstry, 5th neigh. of the Devil, Headquarters of Mutineers, Dear Thompson: Appointed the Quarters of Major Casey Loyalists look out. *Mutiny is hanging prepare to make your place with* God! *What will poor Williams do in* hell *with the* reumatiz (*Reum* it is) *and Rover too, when he is roasted on one side who will turn him over on the* (sic) *other. You know he would die before he would turn himself and thus he would be half cooked, and the Devil likes his meat well done; don't send any more of unnecessary company for me as it is not convenient for me at present to wait upon them. When you send a man or men send some order. No persons from the camp have yet reported to me, and of course could not call on them to do anything except please do this and please do that... I can get along alone now untill I come myself—It is as much as I feel able to do to guard the provisions, without standing guard over refractory men.*

More when I see you.

Yours in haste,

Wm. C. McKinstry

On May 16, McKinstry addressed another letter to Thompson, at "Camp Nueces," from "Hell's Depository," saying he had asked Major Williams' permission to go to Mobile, and is leaving on a boat, but is to return on his own horse.

Josiah Walton Thompson came to Texas very well recommended. Richard North wrote his cousin, Norris Austin, at Sabine Town, Republic of Texas, from Mobile, on March 20, 1842, saying that Josiah Thompson was leaving Mobile "as a volunteer to aid the cause of Texas." His cousin, Henry Thompson, gave him letters, dated

March 23-4, 1842, Mobile, to Mrs. Sarah A. Wharton, Abner S. Lipscomb, Esq., Samuel A. Roberts, Capt. John Rugeley, and Leonard W. Groce, telling them that his young cousin was a nephew of Burton Walton of Augusta, Ga., who married a Groce; that he was of the stock of the Clarks; that he had had some service, 12 or 18 months, in the Florida War, and was a brave soldier.

Stephen F. Minton had letters from his mother advising him to stick to his business in Selma, Ala., but he didn't; he came to Texas! One letter was forwarded from Galveston to "Auberry and Kenny's Rancho."

Minton wrote his dear parents from Galveston, March 31, 1842. He said he had just arrived there from Mobile. Instead of two companies, only one had come; the other, or half the men, backed out the last minute! They were received in Galveston by two companies of infantry, and two companies from New Orleans, who escorted them through town to their quarters. They were to leave the day after tomorrow, on SS Zavala, with men from Galveston and the country above. Sam Houston was in Austin making efforts to forward the war. General B[torn and faded] was near San Antonio with several thousand men on the way to Mexican territory. Minton said they were to be sent to some part of the coast west of the Colorado where they were to meet other troops and then make the best of their way to join General Burleson. The President had issued a Proclamation. He stated his determination to carry the war into Mexico.

Thomas William Boon, an Englishman who joined the Texas Volunteers, was very representative of his type of wanderer. First came family letters, asking for a Toul-

min brother's address in America. The brother had been dead for seventeen years (date of letter August 14, 1840), but had a son in Mobile. Henry Boon of Taunton, Somersetshire, wrote John B. Toulmin, Esq. of Mobile, Alabama State, America, via Liverpool, on June 12, 1841, asking for reply. In the meanwhile George Myles addressed a letter to Thos. W. Boon, Indian Camp, La., from New York City, November 10, 1840, asking for news from him, and telling about mutual friends in New York. Again he wrote on December 2, 1840, saying he was disappointed not to hear from Boon. Then Thomas Grant wrote Boon from New Orleans, March 16, 1841, saying he had changed his mind, was not among the Dons, had left Mobile, and was in New Orleans. Again he wrote from Berwicks Bay, April 3, 1841, saying he hoped to see Boon in Mobile, October next.

A letter in this collection, from T. B. to Miss Elizabeth Knight, East St., Taunton, Somersetshire, Eng., was from Mobile, dated March 19, 1842. To "My dearest friend," Tom Boon said he would return to England if he could only get a passage home. He would not hear from his father again until April 19. He was drinking deep of the bitter cup of misfortune. For his last year's work he had not yet received his salary, and feared he would not, unless he sued the rascal. But as the employer lived 500 miles from Mobile, and as no funds were available, he would not be able to see him. If ever he did get home, Boon said he expected to be laughed at in all his trouble. Sheets of poetry are throughout the file. On the back of one, "The Suitor Nonsuited," is "Mr. Boon," so evidently Thomas was a poet. These are the first two verses of

ADIEU MY NATIVE LAND

A dieu my native land to thee
In tears I leave thy sea beat shore
What now are all thy charms to me
My dreams of happiness are o'er.

Oh! how can I forever part
From every fond endearing tie
That binds my sad and bleeding heart
To this cold world of misery.

On the reverse is "Neglected Love."

Others too, had their troubles. Benjamin Dodsworth of Cincinnati was one. He wrote J. Laver, P. O. Galveston, Texas, via N. O., on March 26, 1842, saying that when he departed from Galveston, he left a power of attorney for the sale of his household furnishings and other belongings, and that he had never had a reply or any money from the scoundrel! He had bought a farm, and had retired from the bustle of the world. He had seen too much roguery and villany.

The Minister of War and Marine of the Republic of Texas had none too much hope in aid from the United as can be seen from the following letter dated May 11, 1844:

"We hear daily of the aid volunteering from the United States, and I have no doubt of its ultimate consumation, but it is tardy, and rendered more so by the opposition of our enemies at home, and the want of confidence, or lukewarmness of some persons abroad. Time will correct both." At Brazoria a meeting was to take place on Saturday next, with W. G. Hilo, McNeill, and others, who were to volunteer aid. It was expected that $5,000.00 would be raised for the use of the troops. The

people of Galveston were about sending a Committee to Brazoria to participate in the meeting. Hockley had requested Judge Terrell, then in Galveston, to attend. He had left him the day before yesterday. "The Squadron left Galveston yesterday for New Orleans." Hockley hoped the Zavala would be fitted out "upon the credit of the Government," from that place. An enclosure was Special Order No. 4, of May 11, for Davis to order Captain August Williams, commanding Company C to report in person at the Department in Houston. Hockley was sorry that the Tennessee commander was the first to merit rebuke.

From Houston's letter to Davis, dated May 31, it is very evident recruiting in the United States was far from satisfactory. This is what he said:

Private. *City of Houston*
31 May 1842

My Dear Davis:

Since writing to you from New Washington, nothing important has occurred, except a disclosure of the fact that the troops sent from New Orleans to Galveston, and reported as well supplied, are found to be destitute of every needful supply. You are aware of the peremptory orders which were given to send none *unless well supplied with every requisite. Apology after apology was sent for men coming to Galveston instead of Corpus Christi. Orders were returned by every boat to send no more and as often disobeyed. Water is not to be had on the Island, and the effect is, the troops have come up the bay for food and water. The expense is considerable and such things are done without the orders of Government. When an evil once begins there is no knowing where it will end.*

Information has reached here that a fellow by the name of Owensby (Captain) is on the frontier, acting without orders from the Government. If such is the fact,

I direct that he, or any other under similar circumstances be seized and held in custody and safely guarded until orders from the War Department may be given for their trial. There shall be subordination in the service. We cannot permit the rogues any longer to frequent our frontier, and to arrest them we must punish them. You will have Capt. McLean with Hays' command to put a stop to such atrocious villanies as have been practised on our South Western border. You have martial law in your command, and let it be enforced. If such men as go without orders are permitted to be associated with the army, our reputation must suffer. No man is to be with or about the army, who is not subject to the Regulations of the Army. If spirits are attempted to be introduced, or are actually introduced into your command, my orders are that all those engaged in the transaction be punished and the liquor be destroyed. There can no more be order and subordination in a camp where there is ardent spirits rended than in Bedlam, where madmen are associated all in one ward.

If it is possible, you should have an express as far as Victoria weekly, as the mails (I hope) will again travel. If they should not, let the express extend to Houston. It is all important that such should be the case. I must move, and use all means and all intelligence possible for the good of the nation.

You will see that Congress will meet on the 27th of June, but I believe I told you of this already. Do you remain at your post and let the discharge of your duty speak your praise. Judge Lipscomb will be here, either in the Senate or on private business. You have many friends and will have more—none who will desert you. Write to me often. Judge Goodman will tell you all. Hockley has given him an appointment. I think it a good one. He is of an honest stock—I know its branches.

Thine truly,

Sam Houston

Adjt. Gen. Davis
Texas

Sam Houston was indeed fully aware of the fact that what Texas needed and wanted was not merely men, but capable men with arms, and provisions as well. The matter of food was of prime importance, for health of body and mind. With nearly four hundred volunteers to provide for, beef, the principal ration, was getting difficult to find. An verage of about 3 animals a day were being consumed toward the end of May; the rations were 3½ lbs. per man, but this was not sufficient; there were complaints; it was felt that an increase to 4 lbs. would soon become necessary. Col. C. L. Owen was to deliver the hides to Captain Price.[29]

Lieutenant Radcliff was ordered to take a schooner at Corpus Christi for the Island of St. Joseph, to requisition twenty heads of beeves.[30] David Murphner, Acting Tr. Master for the Texian army and Owen, were able, but only after much difficulty, to get fifty-one beeves from the other side of the Colorado. They were going to the Brazos to get more beeves and supplies, and expected to be back in Corpus Christi within fifteen days. Thompson was also sent out to scour the country for beeves.[31]

Clark L. Owen wrote Davis from Texana, on June 23, 1842, that there was no news of the beeves expected from the Brazos. He promised to do his best, and to write again from Richmond. Beeves could be obtained in the eastern country, he advised, but would have to be driven by men on a tour of service.

General Davis wrote Colonel C. L. Owen, that in compliance with orders from the Minister of War, he was on his way to the neighborhood of San Patricio with the volunteers. He had received despatches a day or two since advising him that two hundred and fifty volunteers

would sail immediately after the date of his despatches "per Live Oak point," and join him at his encampment. They had on hand now, only 29 beeves, wrote Davis, adding, they would "probably have to draw our Beeves from the enemy upon the Little Colorado." But for that purpose he had not a sufficient force of mounted men. He had submitted Capt. James Owen's suggestion, to draw from the enemy, to the President.[32]

The food situation was becoming alarming. This is what Sam Houston wrote Colonel Davis, June 15, 1842:

To Col. Davis, Corpus Christi, Texas
Col. Davis: Two pounds of Beef is allowed with other rations three when beef alone. For God's sake and our beloved country's sake don't be affraid to do your duty and risk the consequences. Trust in God!

Thine

Houston

15*th June* 1842

McKinstry advised Davis on June 14, that his Inventory showed 9 sacks of coffee, 8 Bbls. of sugar, and some Bacon and Beef; the coffee would serve 63 days; the sugar, 41; the Beef, only two days more. The Quartermaster received a supply of coffee and soap from W. P. Aubrey.[33]

Articles of luxury were out of the question. Even stationery was not to be found in the Quartermaster Dept. in Galveston, as will be seen from the following letter. As a matter of fact, most of the company records were kept on coarse brown wrapping paper.

Gen'l Jas. Davis, Commanding Troops in service of Texas, Corpus Christi.
W. J. Mills, Quarter Master and Commissary, Tex. Army, Quartermaster Department, Galveston, May 30, 1842.

General: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Requisition for stationery, etc. and having nothing of the kind in charge, or funds to procure them with I am unable to send them by this conveyance, but will endeavor to procure a part, if not the whole of the articles required, and send them by Capt. J. M. Allen who will leave here in two days. I forward a Bundle of newspapers, also some letters from the Post Office for several of the troops.

A Proclamation is out for drafting one third of the men liable to do Military duty.

I have the honor to be most respectfully Yr. obt. Servt.
W. J. Mills, Q. M. and Com. Tex. Army

Genl. Davis
Commanding Troops in service of Texas
Corpus Christi

Liquor, yes! But too much of it; with a result: none. Discipline and subordination were to be maintained at any price. In Houston's mind there could be no subordination in the best regulated of camps, if liquor were admitted. This is what Sam Houston wrote Davis:

To Col. James Davis, Act'g Adj. Gen., Corpus Christi, Tex.
[By] Doct. Cameron.

City of Houston
14th May 1842

My Dear Davis:

Some news has reached me of an unpleasant character, from Corpus Christi. Before this time, I hope you have allayed all trouble, and so arranged matters, as to put a stop to insubordination. If you have not I am satisfied, that the only reason was, that it could not be done.

You see the influence of Galveston in the late movements, or I am mistaken. My dear friend, we are to have some trouble, but we must maintain order, and with it the country. The Captain, who is self made major, has been ordered to this place to report, and he will then know the

decision. It is to be deplored that order, cannot commence with the outset of matters; so important to the country. Success cannot be hoped for, unless we deserve it, by subordination to the laws, and constitution. You may rest assured that you shall be supported, so far as can be done in maintaining discipline and subordination in the service of Texas.

I commend most highly the conduct of Major Casy. He has acted out the man, the soldier, and the officer. When we can have such material, we will have an army worthy of our cause! There is no particular shew of excitement in this vast city. They have for the present haulled off to refit and doubtless anew the action, as they hope, *with more success. Defeat thus far has resulted to their plans. Some even commend and others laud the wisdom of the President. Good souls, how gentle, and generous they are! You will have to keep from your command, all persons, who might be disposed to sew the seeds of discord in your camp. I again advise most seriously to exclude all liquors from your troops, and if any should be introduced into the neighborhood, you will destroy it at once! There can be but one inducement for such traffic and that is to speculate on the troops. Subordination can never be maintained in the best regulated [torn out] if* liquor *is admitted, and I never disclosed to you the agency which it had in producing the calamities which have befallen Texas in days past. I rely upon your doing everything in your power to give effect to the service and by the time of Rendezvous, say by the 20th or at furthest 28th of July, your region will be well filled with effective troops.*

Write as often as you can and send an express, at least once in every week. I will write when I can.

Truly yr. friend

Gen. Davis. *Sam Houston*

The month before, April, Hockley had already ordered the citizen companies to report to Maj. Thomas

Casey's command, who would inform them they must be authorized before they could be included in the military organization of the Republic. "Your force (proper)," wrote Hockley, "will form the nucleus upon which the army of attack will rally. DISCIPLINE AND SUBORDINATION IS TO BE OUR FIRST LESSON," emphasized Hockley to Casey.[34]

Ten days later Sam Houston gave Davis some more good advice: "If any one attempts to introduce whiskey or spirits into your neighborhood, shave their heads, and bathe them in salt water to prevent their taking cold! You must prevent evils. 'Tis easier done than to remedy them!"

Davis ordered Goodman, though a month later, to board any vessel entering port, make a diligent search for ardent spirits, and if finding any, to take possession, and await further orders.[35]

From Court Martial records we see that subordination was indeed a matter to be dealt with. I. Sullivan refused to comply with his duties; he was given, in consequence, two days of hard labor. Sgt. Robert Hackett, Company E. refused to obey an order to remove his shack from ground laid off for military purposes; he was reduced, in consequence, to the rank of private. James A. Reynolds, Company C, and William Tracy, Captain Williams Company, left camp without permission. The first was accused of desertion and sentenced to five days hard labor. The second, brought back from Captain Cameron's camp, was sentenced to ride the cannon from 8 until 10 o'clock the following morning. McDermott came into camp and was accused of very disorderly conduct. He abused and cursed Quartermaster Goodman; but

was released. Alvin White, James Bennett, W. B. Council. and Robert Allen were tried for selling liquor. William Wright, Company A, went to sleep on sentinel duty. He was sentenced to cut wood for 24 hours.

From the very beginning the disorderly conduct of some of the volunteers had caused mortification for those in authority. General Order of May 22, 1842, issued at Headquarters, Corpus Christi, recited that some of the volunteers had entered fields and houses, pillaging and in instances doing serious injury, such as "tearing away the roofs and other fixtures." If the guilty were found. they were to be court-martialed.

The matter of desertions was preoccupying the mind of the Minister of War. as will be seen from the following letter from Hockley to Davis, dated June 6, 1842:

Sir: *Lt. Radcliff has handed me your several communications. Col. Owen will unquestionably do all in his power to furnish you with supplies. I have sent him an assistant.*

The draft of the Rio Grande, which was enclosed is tolerably correct, but we have others in the Department from other sources, *which differ a little. This is not said in the spirit of disapproval—on the contrary, Vigilance is gaining and transmitting information cannot be commended too highly.*

I regret that a spirit of desertion should manifest itself so early, but rest assured that we are well rid of them. He who can entertain the idea of desertion is not a soldier, nor can he be made one. I do not mean that it should be encouraged. I would punish it when detected; but shooting is the only cure. I would do so for the first *offence, if in my power. We cannot and* will *not regulate the movements of the Campaign to suit the views or inclinations of our men. They should have made up their minds to a* Camp Life, *and a soldier's duty before they came, and they must now*

endure it. Neither will the President explain all his views or consult with them as to their propriety. These observations are made for your own relief. Such is the mode and rule governing all soldiery—they have nothing to do with rumors.

The Department is well informed of the number of men on the other side of the Rio Grande, and of the disposition made of them. Be assured that no disposition is felt to place the command in jeopardy; its commander and the men are too highly valued. As soon as we can possibly get transportation, the troops with what provisions we can procure, will be sent from Galveston. The Quarter Master General goes in the next Boat, with orders to procure, if possible, the LaFitte *for that purpose.*

In the Morning Report, I find that "in addition to the above, about eighty-six men, a Spy Company, are on duty;" and Lieutenant Radcliff informs me that they are probably Captain Hornsby and Captain [blank] companies. These companies cannot be considered in service, never having received orders to that effect. Captain McLean's Company was ordered to be formed by the President in April last, and the only one recognized.

The Paragraph in the President's order dated 5th May, beginning "Let perfect organization be," was meant as I construed it. A perfect organization can only be when Regiments could be formed, for they were made the basis upon which elections can be held. I refer you to to my letter dated 30th. Ulto. on the subject.

Raw or new companies cannot be made too perfect in the company drill, and we shall soon be able to form Regiments. If fragments are left when we march, we can form Battalions with well drilled companies.

I will endeavour to procure such supplies as are required, and the music. A camp forge, tools and an armorer will be wanted, but we must depend upon New Orleans, or some other port of the United States. My best shall be done.

You will continue to foward all *information by every opportunity.*

Your command will be better at Lipantitlan. You will prepare to move to that point. I send all the Deer skins (ten in number) that can be found in this place. Good maucasins can be made for that short march, by using the raw hide of your Beeves for the soles. These are intended as a substitute until shoes can be procured from New Orleans. I will send more if they can be procured.

I have the honor to be
Very respectfully
Your obt. servt.
Geo. W. Hockley,
Secty of War and Marine

The number of deserters in July was appalling. Mexican sources, as we have seen, said the volunteers deserted in blocks when they heard the enemy was advancing, and that they would be in for a real fight. That this was the cause of the desertions is also to be learned from the Texian records.

Camp La Panteclan
July 2, 1842

Deserted from this place, John B. Arnold, R. W. Atkinson, G. W. Gordon, and Jackson Willborne, members of the Columbus Company of Texian Volunteers.

To P. Ellis, list of deserters from the Georgia Company for insertion in conspicuous place in his paper.

On the back of a document dated Lapantaclan, July 2, 1842, signed W. C. Parke, Sgt., are listed the following deserters from the Orleans Company, privates: Allen, C. A., Babock, Jeremiah, Marks, John, Hulse, David, Byington, George.

The following are names of Volunteers who deserted from the First Battalion of Texas Volunteers:

Company A: Privates: C. A. Allen, Jeremiah Babock, John Marks, David Hulse, George Byington.

Company B: D. D. Donaldson, Cohens, James March, M. Devalla, I. P. Johnson, D. Eusminger, and Frank Hopson.

Company C: Hugh O'Connor, 2d Lt., John Shelton, 2d Sgt., Saul B. Ming, 3d Sgt., Fred B. Gull, 4th Sgt.; R. Cockran, 1st Corp., William Peoples, 3d Corp., John Riley, 4th Corp; Wm. H. Crawford; G. E. Dyson, I. C. Davis, John Kirksey, I. Mosely, Jas. McMahan, A. M. McCaslin, Govan Pain, Ruluff Peck, John Richardson, Jas. N. Runnells, David K. Ross, Richard Sneed, Thos. Sisk.

Company E. [H. M. Allen]: Robert Hackett, 3d Sgt., R. Lamberson, 2d Corp., Hubbard, I. Allen, Bradley, W. Hays, and B. W. Rumney, 1st Sgt.

Company F: Privates: John B. Arnold, G. W. Gordon, R. W. Atkinson, P. W. Clayton.

The Texian forces were still more depleated by sickness; inflamation, fever, biliousness, and sore feet, in particular. In a series of Surgeon's Reports we learn that Paul H. Earle was Surgeon, when June 3, 1842, he ordered more rice for the hospital. N. J. Moore was Adjt. Surgeon, signing the Hospital Reports.

Surgeon's Report, May 21, 1842. [To] Adjt. Revis, in Camp. Hospital Report, following in hospital and excused from duty, signed N. J. Moore, Adjt. Surgeon, May 21, 1842:

C O R P U S C H R I S T I

	Company		Received
G. Armstrong, Pr.	horse company, int. fever		May 18
John Grey Pr.	E, inflamation		May 21
I. Barnes, Pr.	E, sore hand		May 19
E. Marchon, Pr.	E, sore feet		May 18
H. Basset, Pr.	D, inflamation		May 18
J. B. Moore, Pr.	D, sore feet		May 19
J. Eyler, Pr.	D, Lemia		May 19
Humphris, Pr.	F, inflamation		May 19
A. Stewart, Pr.	F, Bilious		May 20
T. Clark, Pr.	A, Bilious		May 20
Jos. Emblem, Pr.	D, Bilious		May 21
Wm. Echols, Pr.	B, Bilious		May 20

Report of May 22: George, A., J. B. Moore*, D; Humphris, F; E. Marchon*, C; Echols, C: Eyler, D; Bassett*, Skenesky*, Barnes, E; J. Clark*, A; Emblem, D; (*discharged from service, awaiting transportation).

Report of May 23: Armstrong, Echols, Brown, Emblem, Humphris, Eyler, Michon, Barrington, and Barnes.

Report of May 24: G. Armstrong, James Humphris, F; J. H. Brown, F; E. Machon, E; F. L. Barnes, E; Wm. Echols, C; G. Barrington, A; R. Retmine, A; J. Emblem, D; discharged this A. M. J. Eyler, D; Kosinho, no Co.

Report of May 28: Echols, Humphris, Brown, Atkinson, F; R. Monohan, A; D. O. King, A; C. Freitzer, A; F. Fatum, horse; Kosiucke.

Report of June 1st, in Hospital in Corpus Christi: Echols, Thos. Miller, C; Brown, E; Vandergraff, A; Robert Adkerson, F; C. Flecher, A; Humphry, F; R. Moneyhow, A; F. Steel, C; Martin, A.

On June 3, 1842, Paul H. Earle, Surgeon, ordered 50 lbs. extra rations of rice, from the commissary, for the hospital.

Manuel Ravea of Corpus Christi complained to General Davis on June 17, 1842: "Yesterday Quarter Master Goodman came to my house and called me out in a friendly manner telling be he wished to speak with me. When I went out I found him with his pistols cocked in his belt. He immediately seized me by the collar raised a whip in a threatening manner and threatened to use it upon me, and was only prevented from accomplishing his purpose by a person coming to my assistance, as I was unarmed and incapable of defence.

"As civil law is not in force, I am compelled to apply to you, Sir, as the commanding officer and the protector of the person and property of the peaceful citizen. That you will have justice done I have no doubt; but should you decline investigating the matter, I respectfully request to be informed of it, in order that I may lay my complaint before the President of the Republic."

When the Volunteers first arrived in the vicinity of Corpus Christi they took Mexican prisoners. This is what Davis tells Sam Houston:

H. E. Sam Houston *Head Quarters Texian Army,*
Corpus Christi, May 20, 1842

Sir: A few days previous to my arrival at this place a number of Mexicans and Henes were taken by a portion of the volunteers an account of which will be forwarded you with this signed by the Captaincy of the different companies for your decision in the case. I have them still under guard and shall keep them until I learn your pleasure. I have felt reluctant to adopt any other course in the case differing from that determined upon by the Captaincy previous to

my arrival for reasons which will be explained to you by Captain Allen who bears this depatch.

"I have organized a Battalion since my arrival and they have elected J. J. B. Hoxey the major, the gentleman who commanded the Georgia Company; he is a gentleman of ability and will make a fine officer. I advised him that he would be commissioned immediately after his Election. Captain Allen who is a friend of yours can more fully satisfy you upon all points connected with the army at this place than I could possibly do by writing. He will give you my views fully upon other subjects. I have by him forwarded a report to the Secretary of War of our strength and condition, etc., etc. I again in conclusion refer you to the Captain who can tell you all.

Very respectfully,
James Davis
Acting Adjt. Gen'l Texian Army

His Exc. Sam Houston

Houston replied; sending this letter by Captain Allen:

New Washington, 24th May, 1842

Dear Davis: By accident I was here when your letter met me. I have attended to it by answer. I am happy that you are making crooked things straight. I wish the Mexicans sent in safety to their country, and you can issue such orders about trade as may seem best to you.

You can judge best what will conduce to the safety and benefit of the frontier. Exercise your best judgement. I thank you for the letters which I have had a squint at. They are omenous. I will mark the contents! and watch the puppets. *Don't doubt me! If any one attempts to introduce whiskey or spirits into your neighbourhood, shave their heads, and bathe them in salt water to prevent their taking cold! You must prevent evils. 'Tis easier done than to remedy them!*

I will return to Houston by the first Boat, and will write to you by Judge Goodman. Hockley will write. You will see

my letter to Gillespie. It hurts and is manly and frank *enough, you will think for some of our friends.*

I came here to get some rest but missed my aim. It is 12 *at night and I have not time to write more, only to say Congress is called to meet on the 27th of June. Stay at your Post! And what I hope I will believe.*

You can make Wells a Drill Master but now I can't make him an aid de camp. Keep Guards, and let no one shoot within one mile of camp without orders nor leave without special permission.

I hope Mrs. H. Will return by the last, if not the middle of June. God bless her. I wish she was here. She had recovered when I last heard of her at Cahawha.

Give my compliments to Capt. H. Waller [?] *and say I will write to him so soon as I have time.*

Salute the Gallant Troops for me, and inculcate discipline and subordination. They raised me from the ranks to a commander-in-chief and they won the Battle of Orleans, and San Jacinto.

Truly thy Friend,
Sam Houston

Adjt. Gen'l Davis

The matter of these prisoners was taken directly to Sam Houston's attention. This is what Capt. J. M. Allen wrote Davis from Galveston, May 31, 1842:

Dear Gen'l: On my arrival here I found that H. E. was at Colonel Morgan's on the bay. I immediately proceeded to see him with the prisoners. I spent the evening and part of the night in conversation with him; he determined that the prisoners should be set at liberty with their property. The accompanying letters will explain to you his views on the subject.

Your despatches to the War Department I gave to H. E. to forward to Houston. I then embarked at midnight and returned to this place, where I shall be compelled to remain some three or four days yet, in order to transact some pri-

vate business of my own, as well as to wait for your clothing, for which I have written, and other things which my company absolutely require. I shall be supplied by the Quarter Master, Colonel Chills, with the stationery, shoes, flints, etc., etc. In a day or two — for the present they have no funds. The Phoenix *leaves in the morning, by which conveyance I send the prisoners, dispatches, letters and newspapers.*

You will please see that the horses and mules received by my company, be all returned if to be found as some I believe were lost, as my First Lieutenant Mr. Fox will be able to inform you.

I hope to bring down with me when I come, some four or five Frenchmen — artillerists — who will be useful for our 12 *pounder. The troops here amount to about three hundred and twenty or thirty who are all anxious to proceed to Corpus Christi, but the government as yet, does not, and cannot procure them transportation, in consequence of which they are becoming quite restive, and if anything more* mutinous *than our crowd — by the by — Williams will be ordered up by the Secretary of War to answer for his conduct and perhaps Hoxie and myself — as I learn here Major Casey has reported in flaming colours. I send some articles for Captain Allen and others and shall bring everything I can procure for all hands on my return.*

Please present my compliments to Mr. Fox, D. Ramsey, Major Hoxie, Captain Williams, and others and say I shall be with them in a few days.

With sentiments of regard and esteem,
I remain yours truly,
J. M. Allen

It appears there was delay in granting the Mexican prisoners their liberty. E. McLean wrote Davis on June 8, 1842: "It appears from General Houston's letter that he desired the Prisoners and horses placed in my charge and convoyed on their route home. I have been in readi-

ness and willing at any time to discharge any duty to forward the desires of the executive or yourself but every thing appears to work backwards to be called upon 25 or 30 mi. from camp to return and wait the movements of committees to carry into effect the orders of the executive is more than I am willing to stand any longer. I shall discharge my men and let them return home or elsewhere."

Final orders were issued by Davis at his Headquarters, Corpus Christi, June 11, 1842, when he told Everett to take charge the Mexican prisoners, to conduct and protect them to their homes west of the Rio Grande, or as far on the way as they might find his protection convenient. He was especially instructed to cultivate with them "an intercourse of the most friendly character; and in parting with them, you will say when the Texians' army crosses the Rio Grande it will not be for the purpose of making war and plundering peaceable citizens, but against Santa Anna and his rule." This policy of befriending the people, but condeming the government, or their leaders, was ever present in the colonial mind.[36]

As we have seen, the Minister of War advised Davis on June 6,[37] that his command would be better at Lipantilan, and that he would prepare to move to that point. Houston's letter from Galveston, a week later, is very clear:

Galveston, 15th June 1842

Colonel Davis: The Lafitte *is ordered to Live Oak Point, and will take all the troops now at this point. You will forthwith remove the troops to* Lepanteclan *and the troops which sail will join you forthwith. The Secretary of War has ordered a removal of the encampment some time since.*

I will send dispatches by the Lafitte *as I presume she will perhaps beat the* Phoenix.

Do not let the troops run off from fear of the Mexicans. One hundred, good game fighters, can whip all the Mexicans *who may attack you. They would of course be cavalry; if any were to assail you! At* conscription *one hundred men fought and beat five hundred regular troops with artillery!*

I will send you important despatches, and settle some principles of service, which are not understood!

You will salute the troops and assure them of my regard for those who have been, and are subordinate to the Regulations of the army, which you will have read to the command.

Your friend,

Col. J. Davis *Sam Houston*

That serious trouble was brewing in camp was evidenced early in May. The Minister of War wrote Major Thomas Casey, Aide de Camp, a very significant letter, on May 11, 1842:

"Sir: Your several communications by the schooner Washington have been received. My loss of confidence in the company from Tennesse, and particularly their commander, has almost extended to a distrust of all. To me, their conduct is also mortifying in the extreme; and I only regret that you had not some force at your command to quell the meeting. Captain Williams is ordered to Head Quarters, Houston. Under the circumstances nothing more could have been done by you, and I have the pleasure of informing you that such are the expressions of H. E. the President.

"The Requisition for medicines has been left at Galveston, and will be complied with, so far we are capable of doing so."

With cheering news from the United States and Brazoria County, "with firmness and patience we shall be

enabled to overcome all difficulties." The Squadron had gone to New Orleans to refit. If possible, the Zavala was to be prepared to go to sea.

On the same day, May 11, 1842, Hockley wrote Davis that Captain Augustus Williams was ordered to Headquarters. He was sorry that Tennessee should be the first to merit rebuke. He wrote: "By this time your force must be sufficient to repel any contemplated attack (if such be, as rumor has given us to believe)." Two companies were being sent by the Prigo, schooner last captured. The squadron left Galveston the day before (on May 10), for New Orleans. It was hoped, repeated Hockley, that the Zavala would be fitted out "upon the credit of the Government," of Texas from that place.

Hockley enclosed Special Order No. 4 for Capt. Augustus Williams, commanding Company C of the Tennessee Volunteers to report in person at the Department in Houston.

Sam Houston was perturbed. He wrote Davis, May 14, from the City of Houston, sending the letter by Doct. Cameron, as quoted above.

McKinstry, for one, did not seem to take the matter as a serious one. He wrote Sergeant Thompson at Camp Nueces, from "5th neighborhood of the Devil, Headquarters of Mutineers," as above.

Here again we might refer to J. M. Allen's letter from Galveston, May 31, in which he stated that not only Williams was ordered up by the Secretary of War, to answer for his conduct, but perhaps Hoxie and himself would be included. As he learned in Galveston, Major Casey reported "in flaming colours."

A few weeks later H. W. Allen wrote Houston a serious letter:

General Houston, Houston, Tex.

Corpus Christi, June 19, 1842

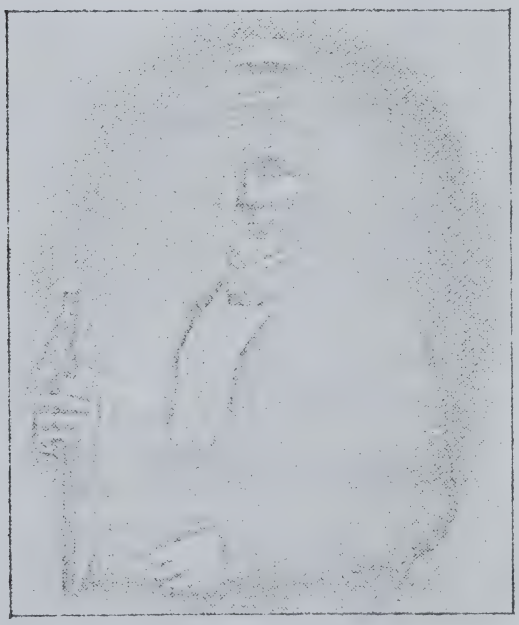
"By the hands of Colonel Wells you will receive this. He goes east to learn something of our future destination. The Battalion is in a very precarious situation and I do fear will dispute before we are reinforced. The new appointment of Quarter Master is very unpopular, and creates much dissatisfaction. Judge Murphy is a very energetic and popuar man and [torn] now doing all in his power to furnish us with beef not knowing any thing of his removal. I trust you will examine this matter and give it due consideration. We have a plenty of beef, sugar and coffee. Bread, we have none. We only ask for aid in order to settle the minds of many who think that the war will not be prosecuted any further. The climate is getting very warm, altho we had a refreshing shower last evening. Accept of my highest regards. . ."

On the same day (June 19, 1842) Hoxey wrote Hockley: "Feeling that I can be of no service to the Republic of Texas under the circumstances existing now in camp, I have the honor of hereby tendering my resignation."

On July 6, 1842, Hoxey was still in camp. On that day Davis ordered him to arrest B. Rumney and F. Fontleroy (of Captain Allen's Company E), now in the vicinity of camp and in open violation of all order and discipline, and in open mutiny. Hoxey forthwith (the same day) sent Captain Shivers, officer of the day, an order,

to be carried into effect, and no if's about it. He wrote: "If you request greater force, the adjutant will furnish you any number of men you may require."

So here we leave the Texas Volunteers, on the brink of disaster.



SAM HOUSTON
From Crane's "Life of Sam Houston"

SPIES from Rancho del Coleto reported only 300 adventurers at Corpus Christi. They had been more numerous, but were leaving for the interior of Texas.[38]

Reyes then reported that the activities of Canales in connection with Rancho de la Coma (mentioned in report No. 498 of June 30, last), had produced most satisfactory results. Even though they did not encounter the Texans, who were said to have been in camp at La Escondida, the section that left Camargo, composed of the force commanded by Col. Cayetano Montero, and of the Auxiliaries of the Frontier, continued to the Nueces (as reported on July 4, in No. 515) to reconnoitre and obtain definite information as to where the enemy were located.[39]

The explorers sent out from Camargo to the Brazos and Nueces returned on June 19, with definite information for Canales.[40] They reported that four hundred Infantry Volunteers of the United States in the service of Texas, with fifty horses and one cannon, were encamped on Kinney's Ranch, on the right bank of the mouth of the Nueces, under the command of General Davis. They were awaiting another two hundred volunteers who were to come from Galveston, as well as the rest, being sent by General Houston overland. All were to march on the settlements, take the cattle for meat for the troops, and for their pay. In fact, their cavalry had already advanced to Agua Dulce, 45 leagues to the northeast of Camargo.

To proceed to the attack of the enemy was a serious matter, reported Canales. The distance was great. There was an insufficiency of resources. There was barely any water in the country (it was late in June). The settlers were busy with their corn crops, to complete sowing before the rainy season and overflow of the Rio Grande. "To let the enemy continue against us was out of the question; so I closed my eyes to fate," said Canales, "and proceeded to order the recruiting of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th squadrons of my regiment, which are those of Camargo, Mier, Reynosa, and Guerrero." The authorities of these towns cooperated. They not only equipped their respective squadrons, but joined the expedition themselves. The civilians and even members of the ayuntamientos mounted and offered their services. From Reynosa alone, there were one hundred and sixty of them. Regidores Antonio Guerra and Maximo Cabazos of this Villa, including Alcalde Calletano Lopez, all would have accompanied Canales had he permitted it! These offers of service, and the secrecy with which orders were carried out, to prevent the enemy learning their activities, were all worthy of the consideration of the Superior Government, wrote Canales.

Col. Calletano Montero, whose only resource was his patriotism, immediately got his section in readiness and was prompt in departure for participation in the combat.

Canales reported that on the 23rd, he camped on the left bank of the Rio Bravo, along with the squadron of Camargo. On the 29th, review was held at Agua Dulce, there being present, four hundred and sixty-two men of his regiment and one hundred and eighty-five of the permanent army. Of these forces one hundred and eight set-

tlers had to return, because their horses were useless. The rest marched on the following day.

From Agua Dulcea (Agua Nueva)' a party of ten explorers under Capt. Blas Cabazos went forward to reconnoitre the enemy's field, and surrounding country, and to cut off the road leading to them. Canales was to hear from them on approaching the Trinity. At Arroyo de Concepción he was informed by two of them that the enemy was at Lipantitlan, 13 leagues this side of Kinney's ranch, and that they had left their cannon near Madre Lake.[41]

The explorers wanted to go on to Kinney's ranch (Corpus Christi, or La Cera), near Corpus Christi, to get the cannon left by the enemy, but were unable to do so. The men had not eaten for three days. The distance from Lipantitlan to the ranch being 13 leagues, with another 13 leagues allowed for the return, made it quite impossible for they barely had food to arrive at Palo Blanco, where there was meat. So they returned to camp at Agua Dulce. The march continued to La Rosita, where two deer were killed and offered food for five hundred men.'[42]

With the important news received from the two explorers at La Concepción, Canales says they were on the march within half an hour. As no cattle was found from this point on, it was necessary to traverse 30 leagues without meat, their only food, hoping that the enemy would have a good supply.

Eight leagues before arriving at Lipantitlan, Canales and Montero began to make plans for surprising the enemy at their camping place, well known to Canales. Three columns to attack, and one held in reserve, were enough to cut them off from the woods, the only place where those proud fellows (Canales calls the volunteers

orgullosos) could face the Mexican forces. The Texans, observed Canales, were like cattle; in the woods they were brave and quick; but in the open, easily led and cowardly (en los montes son brabos y ligeros y en los llanos se trillen y acorbardan).

In virtue of this, says Canales, the forces were distributed as follows: 130 men of the 2nd Battalion, 4th Reg., and 60 Auxiliaries, unmounted, of the Squadrons of Reynosa and Guerrero, under Col. Ponciano Eguren, formed the first column. The squadron of Mier, with 105 men, mounted, with a light cannon, under Lt. Col. Cristobal Ramirez, was the second. The third was composed of the squadron of Camargo, its 80 men under Commandant Matias Ramirez. The reserve was formed with 42 men of the 7th Cavalry and 40 of Camargo and Reynosa. The rest were to remain with the train and jaded horses at Agua Dulce, where their camp was located. All was done just so. The commanders were given their instruction. The march continued at about 3: P. M., to end when the enemy was encountered, as said, about 8 leagues from them to the north northeast.

The itinerary of Montero's march to Lipantitlan, is as follows: They left Camargo, June 23, 1842, camping at Rancho de Garcitas, 1½ leagues distant. It took five hours to cross the Rio Grande, as they had only three canoes at their disposal. At Charco Salado, the following day, one soldier deserted. Canales joined the expedition on June 25. They were at Agua Nueva on the 27, and remained there through the 28. At Grangenito, on the 29, the Mier and Guerrero squadrons arrived. Four spies were sent out. There was no water. They marched from four o'clock in the afternoon until eleven that night; resuming the march

from Palo Blanco the following morning at six, with a halt at noon. Another 6 leagues brought them to Paso de Santa Cruz, where they arrived on July 1. There was no meat. The following day they awaited new horses, and the return of some of the spies. On the 3, one hundred and sixty horses were brought in. They moved the camp to Los Patricios, where there was water, remaining there on the 4. That morning spies came in reporting the enemy at Lipantitlan, on the right bank of the Nueces, numbering four hundred Infantry and fifty horses. The following evening, on Trinity River, more spies confirmed the report. The march began against the enemy. At 10:30 on the morning of the 6, they camped at Los Preseños. Plans were made for an attack on the enemy at dawn of the following day. The March was resumed at 3: P. M. At the place called Las Motas de Agua Dulce, 5 leagues from the enemy camp at Lipantitlan, they left the horse herd and useless mules, taking only four loads of park for the guns. The final march began at 8: that night. A halt was called at 2: in the morning, a half league before the enemy.

"Fifteen days after leaving Camargo with squadrons 1, 2, 3, and 4 of my Regiment," reported Canales, "along with Montero's section, we attacked the enemy encamped at this place (Lipantitlan)."

The place occupied by the Texas Volunteers was a hill (colina) to the right of the Nueces River, the high banks of which protected them for at least 500 varas on the northwest, north, and northeast, forming an imperfect semi-circle. The columns could therefore occupy all the space along the woods, to cut off all retreat from the enemy, leaving only the plain or open land for the Mexicans to fire on. At nightfall they approached the Texian camp on

the west; whence the first and second columns sallied to occupy points agreed upon, which were to the north and northeast. The guides, however, got lost in the dark, and instead of arriving at these points, proceeded south, passing to the left of the enemy, very close to them, but without being noticed.

Colonel Montero and Canales with the second column and the reserve, were located a gun-shot distance from the camp. They waited an hour for the infantry to open fire, in accordance with orders, when they were to charge at the same time. The infantry, however, had gone very far. It was rapidly becoming daylight. The enemy was beginning to stir. One of the Texians came out with a light; he discovered the Mexican forces, and quickly gave the alarm. At this moment, and when there was nothing else to be done, says Canales, the infantry appeared on their right, when they should have been on their left, and defiling for the front of the line, let themselves be seen by the enemy, as well, who began to prepare and form.

Without further hopes, firing began; the Mier cavalry and reserve charging. The Camargo squadron were even lost, but the firing brought them to the place of action. At full speed they were hardly able to reach the rearguard of the Texians who fled into the woods.

None of the enemy remained in the camp. At the first shot they began to run, said Canales, and when the Mexicans got to the top of the hill, they had already reached the woods to the northeast, where they should have been cut off by the Camargo squadron. The Mexican infantry and cavalry both pursued the Texians to the entrance of the woods. At daybreak these invincibles stirred a bit, says Canales, and their firing brought action. The Mexican in-

fantry responded with admirable valor and skill, adds Canales. Their very rapid firing brought silence from the Texians who continued their flight into the depths of the woods. The first shot from the 4-in. cannon brought by Montero's section, broke it from its bearings, etc., and even though it was tied with thongs, it was of almost no further service from that first shot, on. At 4: it was retired from service.[43]

Colonel Montero wanted the infantry to pursue the enemy into the woods, but as the undergrowth was very thick with entanglements and wild grape vines all around, which would trip the Mexican soldiers, leaving them exposed to the fire of the enemy hidden behind the trees, it seemed very convenient to Canales that they should not enter, because they would only lose their men with no advantage resulting. For this reason the intended move was suspended. The coloumns were all lined up for battle, with no enemy in sight. This was Canales' version of inactivity. José María Delgado, Alférez of the 3d Co., 7th Reg. of Cav., on the contrary, testified that Montero ordered the advance into the forest, but Commander of Defenders, Matías Ramírez came forward and said he would not expose his troops to being shot in those woods, that it were better to have one's throat cut than be shot by the enemy in those woods![44]

In possession of the Texian camp, the Mexicans took all that was left. Canales enclosed a list of the loot. On the road, he said, the miserable Texians had abandoned their flags. The flag of the Regiment had this inscription on it: Galveston Invincibles, "Our Independence." It was taken by Lt. Col. Antonio Gonzales Davila. The Texas flag was taken by Domingo Ramírez, cabo of the Mier

Squadron. The standard was taken by Nestor Padilla, sergeant of the Guerrero Squadron.

"What this very little part of the army did on this day, what they suffered, exceeded anything imaginable," reported Canales. Without food, without shoes, and as stated at the beginning, without other resources than patriotism, they crossed fifty leagues of desert. This was heroism without example... The sons of Mars, could have done no better!" Canales recommended that the names of the participants be published.

'I forgot to mention the Father Chaplain of the Fourth Regiment of Infantry, Dr. José María Rua," adds Canales. "His valor attracted my particular attention; in the midst of the columns without being called, he served his purpose and aided as surgeon. In the combat there died in service to the country, Cabo Severiano Narvaez; soldiers Juan José Maya of Grenadiers, and Matilde Martínez, of the 2d Battalion of the 4th Reg.; Cabo Alejandro Smaldera, of the Reynosa Squadron; while those wounded were Second Sergeants of the same Battalion, Laureano Casares and José María Villegas, the first so severly that he died the following day. The enemy losses Y. E. already knows [Reyes reported 22 Texians killed]. The Texians fled into the woods, taking the direction Mesquital de Brazada, which was at the entrance of the Rincon de la Cerda, where it was said another two hundred Texians had disembarked."[45]

Aside from five barrels of powder, bayonets, park, 42 pistols, 11 rifles, 17 guns, etc., the Texian archive was abandoned and taken by the Mexicans. What gave even greater satisfaction to Mexican pride, were the two company flags and standard which "those perfidious usurpers

had left behind them in their flight." Andrés Mena naively testified they were not taken in action, but at the deserted camp.

One flag was a tricolor, of red, white, and blue worsted, with a white star on the blue band (faja); or, with white, red, and blue stripes, with a white star on the blue stripe.[46] It was taken by Cabo Ramírez, according to Canales; while Father Rua merely mentions that it was taken by an officer of the Defenders.

The other flag was of purple silk or taffeta, with gold fringe, and inscriptions in gold lettering: Galveston Invincibles, Texas Independence (Ynbensibles de Galveston, por la Independencia de Tejas); or, as Cristóbal Castro, alférez of the 7th Regiment testified: "Galveston Inbensibles, Our Independence." It was taken, according to Father Rua, by the Captain of Casadores of the 4th Regiment; or according to Canales, by Lt. Col. Antonio Gonzales Davila.

The standard was of white silk, with some hieroglyphics painted on it, and with purple silk fringe. Castro says there was an oval on the white taffeta, decorated on both sides. On one side was painted a dragon on horseback, and on the other side, two columns or round pillars with statues on them, says Mena; while Castro says there were three columns, each with figures, holding the lettering: Wisdom, Justice, Union.

These flags and the standard were delivered to General Reyes by Capt. Gabriel Treviño, of the Second Company of Auxiliaries of Reynosa, when he delivered the first report from Canales. Everything possible was done, explained Canales, to prevent the escape of a single Texian; but they were handicapped by the darkness of night, and

hence, were unsuccessful. Again fortune slipped their fingers, he remarked. But he was satisfied with what was done. The flags, he hoped, would be delivered to the President to whom he had promised a month before, the defeat of the Texas enemy. The Texians had 22 killed, and more, by the second charge of Mexican Infantry, to the entrance of the woods. The Mexicans, reported Canales, lost one cabo and two soldiers of the Second Battalion, 4th Regiment; with one cabo of the Reynosa Squadron, and two sergeants of the same Battalion, wounded, one gravely so. As we have seen, in Canales' opinion, the sons of Mars could have done no better.

Reyes, in his report, to the Minister of War, was more reserved! The success, he observed, would have been more complete, had not those bandits who called themselves "invincibles", according to the motto on their flag, fled as cowards to save themselves in the woods; all of which thanks to the guide who went astray!

The names of these heroes, reported Canales, should be published, and not forgotten.

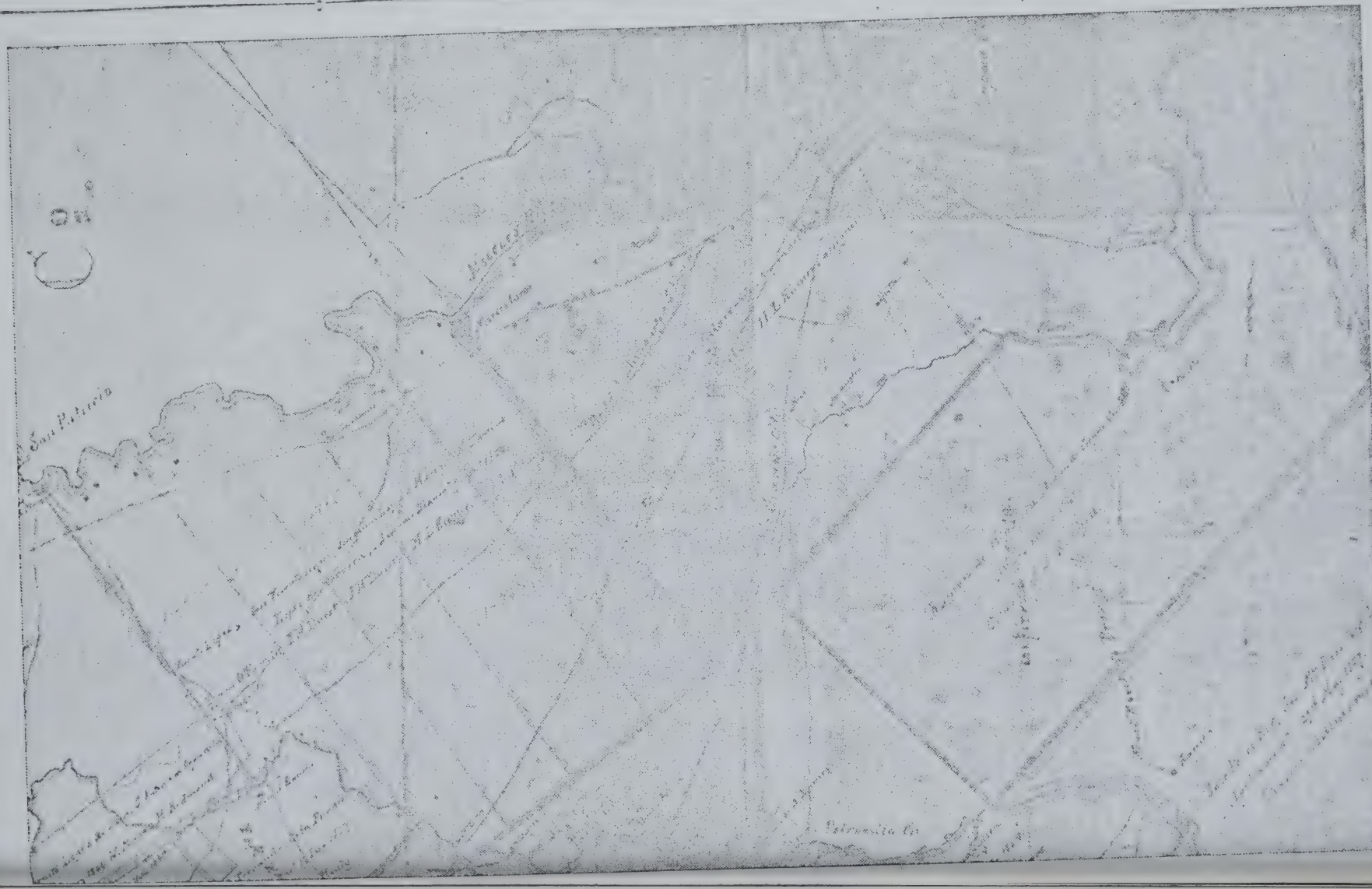
This was a good lesson to the enemy, concluded Canales, not to approach the Rio Bravo.[47]

The Galveston Gazette of the 16th, published an article dated at the Camp at Lipantitlan, July 7, 1842; or, the report to Hon. George W. Hockley, Secretary of War and Marine. It stated: On the night of the 6th, the Texians had news that the Mexicans would attack them in great force; so they changed their quarters to a secure position. On the morning of the 7th, seven hundred Mexicans entered the abandoned camp, attacked the Texians, with consequent losses in dead and wounded which could not have been less than thirty; and then quickly retreated.

The Texians, according to the report, had not a single man killed or wounded. Their total force, including the company of Captain Cameron of mounted auxiliaries, did not exceed two hundred men. The Mexicans, according to the reports of a wounded prisoner, had two hundred troops and five hundred rancheros, under General Canales. Their expedition was armed solely to attack this Texian force. They had with them a 4-in. campaign piece.[48]

The Houston Morning Star gave headlines to this Great News. The Mexicans were defeated!

The President of Mexico was gratified with this victory at Lipantitlan, and with the flags and standard, testimony of the success of Mexican forces. The Cross of Distinction was granted Canales, Montero, and eleven officers.[49] On August 1, 1842, Reyes proudly reported to the Minister of War that after the victory of Lipantitlan, not a single Anglo-American was to be found on the Mexican side of the Nueces. He added that all spies for Texas were going as merchants.[50]



NOTES

"La Salle's Landing in Texas," on title page is from Bolton and Barker, "With the Makers of Texas," p. 27.

The Map of Texas, frontispiece, is dated 1847. It shows Corpus Christi, the town. Mitchell's "A New Map of Texas, Oregon and California." Philadelphia, 1846, also shows Corpus Christi town, but shows less Texas detail.

"Bird's Eye View, of the Camp of the Army of Occupation, near Corpus Christi, Texas, as in October 1845, commanded by Gen. Taylor," p. 30; drawn by D. P. Whiting, Capt. 7th Inf. Looking from the north. From a photostat copy, courtesy of Miss Winnie Allen, the University of Texas. See "Texas Letters," Yanaguana Soc. Pub., V, 112-114.

1 Castañeda, Carlos E., "Our Catholic Heritage in Texas," III, 144-145.

2 Kennedy, William, British Consul at Galveston, "Texas", London, 1841, pp. 48-52.

3 Wortham, "A History of Texas," V, 278.

4 Bartlett, John Russell, "Personal Narrative," New York, 1854, II.

5 Henry, Capt. W. S., "Campaign Sketches of the War with Mexico."

6 Sutherland, Mrs. Mary A., "The Story of Corpus Christi," published by the Corpus Christi Chapter, Daughters of the Confederacy, 1916. W. P.A. "Guide" Texas, 217, 222. San Antonio, Express, December 1, 1889, p. 11, cols. 1-2; Sunday, August 9, 1891, p. 9. col. 3; and June 4, 1939, p. 8. Fulmore, "History and Geography of Texas as told in County Names," 6, 81, 159-160. Thrall says Philip Dimitt was one of the first Americans to settle in Nueces County, in 1841, 15 mi. from Corpus Christi.—"Pictorial History of Texas," 687. Blucher, Felix, A., "Map of the County of Nueces," November 20, 1859, Land Office, Austin, Texas.

7 Francisco V. Fernández to the Minister of War, Matamoros. February 15, 1836. Fort Lipantitlan, 12.5 mi. northwest of Banquette, was occupied in 1831 by Mexican soldiers, to prevent Anglo-American colonization in Texas. It was captured on November 4, 1835, by Capt. Ira Westover, says the "Texas Almanac," 1941-42, p. 86.

8 Arista to the Minister of War, No. 181, December 29, 1841, f. 13.

9 Do., No. 16, January 9, 1842, ff. 27-28.

10 Monterrey, January 9, 1842, ff. 32-35.

11 Arista to Vasquez, Monterrey, January 8, 1842, Instruction, No. 15, ff. 36-37.

12 Arista, No. 36, January 16, 1842, f. 48.

13 January 27, 1842; No. 56, January 23, 1842, f. 53; and No. 148, February 27, 1842. See Cos to Min. War, October 5 and 13, 1835.

14 Arista to Min. War, No. 135, February 21, 1842, ff. 54-55.

15 Arista, No. 230, Monterrey, March 27, 1842.

16 Arista to Min. War, Monterrey, March 31, 1842.

17 Arista to Min. War, Monterrey, March 27, 1842, No. 235, transcribing Valera to Arista, Santa Rosa, March 12, 1842, with three enclosures.

18 Arista to Min. War, Monterrey, March 31, 1842, with two enclosures.

19 Captain Richard King was founder of the famous King Ranch, the headquarters of which are still maintained at Kingsville, thriving seaport and oil center, on the Gulf coast, 40 mi. southwest of Corpus Christi, found-

ed in 1904 when the first railroad was built along the coast from Houston to Brownsville.—"Byron's Guide." Richard King (b. Orange County, New York, June 10, 1825)—was in the cargo business up the Rio Grande from Brownsville, with Mifflin Kenedy, a Pennsylvanian. After a trip on the prairie, King decided to purchase the Santa Gertrudis ranch from the Perres Rey (who had acquired it after the death of the original grantee, José Domingo de la Garza, killed by the Indians). See Douglas, C. L., "Cattle Kings of Texas," Dallas, 1939, pp. 79-95.

20 Bocanegra to Min. War, April 12, 1842, transcribing letter from Mexican Consul, New Orleans, No. 17, Reservada, March 8, 1842.

21 Reyes to Min. War, No. 482, June 20, 1842.

22 No. 261, Santa Anna, Tamps., June 30, 1842.

23 Bocanegra to Min. War, with N. O. Consular report, No. 127, and enclosures

24 Reyes to Min. War, No. 498, June 30, 1842.

25 Itinerario, June 23-July 12, 1842.

26 Bocanegra to Min. War, August 9, 1842, forwarding report from consul, New Orleans, July 9.

27 Reyes to Min. War, No. 515, Matamoros, July 4, 1842, transcribing Canales, from Agua Nueva, June 29.

28 Bocanegra to Min. War, August 9, 1842.

29 Corpus Christi, May 26, 1842.

30 Aug. Williams to Ratcliff, May 11, 1842.

31 Murphner to Hotchkiss, Esq., Acting Ass't Tr. Master, at Corpus Christi, from Doct. Southerland's, Colorado, June 7, 1842.

32 Owen to Davis, June 23, 1842; Davis to Owen, n.d., but together in the file.

33 Receipt, n.d. (ca. late June, 1842).

34 Hockley to Casey, Department of War and Marine, April 29, 1842.

35 Davis to Goodman, Corpus Christi, June 29, 1842.

36 See Chabot, Frederick C., The Santa Fe and Snively Expeditions, still in Ms. form.

37 Hockley to Davis, June 6, 1842; transcribed above.

38 Reyes to Min. War. No. 509, July 4, 1842.

39 Reyes to Min. of War, No. 532, July 11, 1842.

40 Montero to Reyes, Camargo, July 15, 1842.

41 Canales to Reyes, Camargo, July 17, 1842.

42 Montero to Reyes, Camargo, July 15, 1842.

43 Canales to Reyes, Lipantitlan, July 7, 1842.

44 Woll to Min. War, Guerrero, May 12, 1843, No. 253, enclosing 89 sheets of sumaria against Montero and Canales, ff. 25v-26.

45 Canales to Reyes, Camargo, July 17, 1842, No. 1.

46 Andrés Mena testimony.

47 Reyes to Min. War, Rio Grande, September 5, 1842, No. 637.

48 Clipping, translated, from Mex. Consul, N.O., July 28, Reyes to Min. War, No. 634, September 2, 1842, and No. 527, July 11, 1842, Houston Morning Star, No. 368, quoting the Galveston Gazette.

49 Min. War, to Reyes, July 22, 1842.

50 Reyes to Min. War, Nos. 575 and 580, August 1, 1842.

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